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MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

LIFE AND CHARACTER

OF

GEORGE S. HOUSTON

FEBRUARY 25TH AND MARCH 3RD 1880.

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Western University of Pennsylvania
From Hon. R. Errett, M. C.
Received Jan. 18, 1882.

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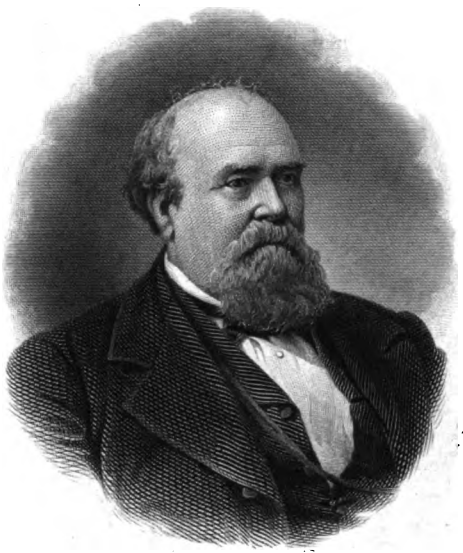

Geo. S. Houston.

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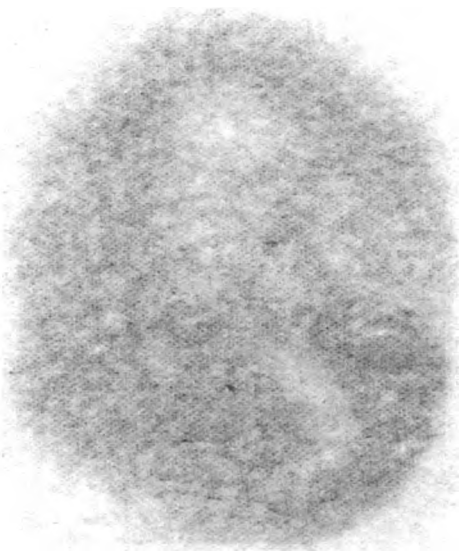

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THE WESTERN UNIVERSITY OF PENNA.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

ON THE

LIFE AND CHARACTER

OF

GEORGE S. HOUSTON,

(A SENATOR FROM ALABAMA),

DELIVERED IN THE

SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

FORTY-SIXTH CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION,

FEBRUARY 26 AND MARCH 3, 1880,

WITH

THE PROCEEDINGS CONNECTED WITH THE FUNERAL OF THE DECEASED.

WASHINGTON:
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.
1880.

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140643

JOINT RESOLUTION to print the eulogies delivered in the Senate and House of Representatives upon the late George S. Houston, a Senator from the State of Alabama.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That twelve thousand copies of the proceedings connected with the funeral of and the eulogies delivered in the Senate and House of Representatives, upon the late GEORGE S. HOUSTON, be printed, eight thousand for the use of the House of Representatives and four thousand for the use of the Senate, and that the sum of five hundred dollars is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to pay for the expense of procuring a portrait of the late Mr. HOUSTON, under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury.

Approved, April 29, 1880.

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THE WESTERN UNIVERSITY OF PENNA.

ANNOUNCEMENT

OF THE

DEATH OF GEORGE S. HOUSTON,

A SENATOR FROM ALABAMA.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 6, 1880.

The Chaplain, Rev. J. J. BULLOCK, D. D., offered the following

PRAYER:

Almighty and ever-living God, we bless and adore Thee as our creator, our preserver, and our most bountiful benefactor. We rejoice that Thou art on the throne, and that Thy kingdom ruleth over all. We thank Thee, O God, for Thy manifold blessings to us. Especially do we thank Thee for Thy watchful providence over us since last we met together in this Chamber, and that we are permitted to enter upon the duties and responsibilities of a new year under circumstances of great mercy.

O God, it hath seemed good unto Thee, in Thine inscrutable providence, to remove by the hand of death another member of this venerable body from the scene of his honors, his labors, and his responsibilities into the future and eternal world. We pray that our hearts may be deeply touched by this sad dispensation of Thy Providence, and that we may be reminded of our own mortality and of the necessity of being ever pre-

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pared for our departure, for we know not when we shall be called hence. We invoke Thy especial blessing to rest upon the bereaved family of the deceased Senator. Comfort them in the hour of their affliction; bind up the broken-hearted; and may this affliction be sanctified to them.

We invoke Thy blessing to rest upon our rulers, upon the President, the Vice-President, the Senators and Representatives in Congress, and upon all others in authority. May they rule in the fear of God and for the good of our common country. Watch over us during all our appointed time upon earth, choose all our changes for us, be with us in the last sad change that awaits us upon earth, and finally receive us into Thy kingdom above, we ask for Christ our Redeemer's sake. Amen.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. PRESIDENT: I rise for the purpose of making known to the Senate the death of my colleague, Hon. GEORGE S. HOUSTON, of Alabama, who died on the last day of the last year at his home in Athens, Alabama, in the midst of his family and his friends, honored and regretted by all the people of that State. At some other time I shall ask the Senate to consider some resolutions commemorative of the virtues of my late colleague.

At this moment of time it seems to be required of me, as a painful duty, that I should make some contradiction of a statement which was made public on the day of his burial, to the effect that he and I were not on speaking terms—a gentleman for whom I had the highest personal regard, and in whose political opinions and mine there was perfect accord upon all subjects, so far as I am aware. I had received, as I was informed by his family, his most tender and kindly expressions of regard, even up to almost the very hour of his death. He was a noble,

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good man, in whose friendship I did sincerely rejoice and whose respect was to me one of the greatest boons of my personal as well as my political life.

Having said this much on that part of the subject, I will now, Mr. President, move that the Senate adjourn.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Before the Chair puts the question, he desires to State that in the recess of the Senate, assuming that his action would meet the approbation of the Senate, he appointed Mr. MORGAN, Mr. EATON, Mr. ALLISON, Mr. BLAIR, and Mr. COKE as a committee on the part of the Senate to attend the funeral of the late Senator HOUSTON in Alabama, and if his action meets the approbation of the Senate it will be noted upon the Journal. The Chair hears no objection. The question is, Will the Senate now adjourn?

The motion was agreed to; and (at twelve o'clock and thirty-two minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned.

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ADDRESSES

ON THE

DEATH OF GEORGE S. HOUSTON,

A SENATOR FROM ALABAMA.

DELIVERED IN THE SENATE.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1880.

Mr. MORGAN. According to notice heretofore given, Mr. President, I now ask the Senate to dispense with the regular order and to devote a part of this day's session to the consideration of resolutions commemorative of our late associate in this body, GEORGE SMITH HOUSTON, a Senator from Alabama, who died on the 31st day of December, 1879. I ask for the reading of the resolutions which I send to the desk.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The resolutions will be read.

The Chief Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with regret of the death of Hon. GEORGE S. HOUSTON, a Senator from the State of Alabama, and extends to the family of the deceased Senator and to the people of Alabama sincere condolence in their bereavement.

Resolved, That the long public service of GEORGE S. HOUSTON has been marked by fidelity to his convictions of duty, by industry and patience in his labors for the public welfare, by distinguished ability in the legislative councils of the United States, and by devoted and wise service to Alabama as governor of that State.

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate transmit to the family of the deceased and to the governor of Alabama a copy of these resolutions, with the action of the Senate thereon.

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Address of Mr. MORGAN, of Alabama.

Mr. PRESIDENT, it is the custom of the houses of Congress to bring back the memory of those who die while they are in this branch of the public service by resolutions and remarks that reflect the opinions of the survivors as to their personal and official character, and to bestow a last mark of respect upon the deceased.

For other reasons, also, it is well that we sometimes pause to consider what we are and whither we are traveling. It is not dangerous to the country, nor is it a needless consumption of time, that those who are intrusted with the great powers of government are sometimes compelled, through the invasion of these legislative chambers by the inevitable hand of death, to cease their labors and controversies for a time, and to consider how brief a period is allotted to their usefulness; to consider how it is that only for a moment they can be permitted to enjoy the fruits and honors of their exertions, and how the strongest men stagger under their burdens as they grow with advancing years and become heavier toward the close of even a long lifetime. It is upon occasions like this when a man of seventy years has died, all of whose manhood was devoted to honorable public service in high stations, that we appreciate the fact that those labors are of little advantage to the toilers compared with that which inures to posterity. It is on these occasions that we realize that our public acts as law-makers will be impartially scrutinized after we are dead, and after our personal influence in their vindication has ceased; and that nothing in them can bring honor to our memories unless it is just and patriotic.

GEORGE SMITH HOUSTON was born in Williamson County, Tennessee, of an honorable parentage; not wealthy or distinguished, but highly respected for the sort of integrity and

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strength and purity of character and modesty in asserting their claims to high distinctions that constituted marked virtues among the agricultural classes in the earlier years of this country.

Many great and good men, who have sprung from that class of society, have attained to the highest honors within the gift of the American people. That influence which was exerted over these great men in their childhood has constantly widened and deepened with the current of their lives, and, in its maturity, has afforded to States and to the Union and the people the safest and most virtuous element in American statesmanship. Senator HOUSTON had attained the age of seventy years, when his course was ended on the last day of the year of our Lord 1879.

The year closed sadly to the people of Alabama when with it a life was closed that had been dutifully spent in their service—a life that they had so recently crowned with the highest honors they could bestow upon him—and when it ended a companionship that was full of comfort and benefit to them.

With the closing year he went quietly away; and, like the passing of the old year into the new, without any interval of time, his life, that ended here, was at once renewed in another sphere. He passed straightway "from death unto life." The evening and the morning came together without an intervening night, and in their union he found himself ushered into the morning of eternity, as we believe, "a just man made perfect."

He came to Alabama when he was a child, and that beautiful land was home to him during all his remaining days. He received an elementary education at an academy in Lauderdale County, and entered a law office as a student. His elementary law course was completed at Harrodsburgh, Kentucky, and he was admitted to the bar in 1831. In 1832 he was elected to

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represent Lauderdale County in the General Assembly of Alabama. He was laborious and persistent in his legal studies, and diligent and faithful in his professional engagements, so that he was soon appointed, and afterward elected, to the responsible office of circuit solicitor.

From that position he was elected to Congress in 1841. He thus became generally known to the people of the State, that election under the general-ticket system having been determined by the voters of the entire State. Afterward he was elected to represent a district in the House of Representatives in 1843 and in 1845 and in 1847. In 1849 he declined election and resumed the practice of law. In 1851 he was again elected to Congress and continued to hold his seat by re-election, and for four terms without opposition. In January, 1861, he retired with his colleagues from the House of Representatives, in obedience to the will of the people of Alabama, as expressed in their ordinance of secession from the American Union.

The severance of his relations with the American Congress was to him a most painful duty. He had done all in his power to avert the causes that made this step one of imperative duty on his part, but he bowed with reverence to what he believed was the sovereign will of the people of Alabama, and united his fortunes with them "for better or for worse."

In his own opinion, freely expressed, the preservation of the Union of the States was justly to be preferred to any hope of escape by its destruction from the sacrifices which he could then foresee as the result of its perpetuity. He was then a large slaveholder, but he did not permit his conduct to be influenced by what was the almost universal belief that a continuance of the Union would soon result in the destruction of the entire value of that description of property. His opinions as to wise policy were not as strong as his affections toward his

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people, and he yielded his judgment to his sense of duty to his State.

During the period of the war he devoted much of his time and means to the alleviation of its hardships upon the sufferers in the armies and at home. His sons entered the Confederate army and bore themselves with gallantry in many of its fierce conflicts.

In 1865 he was elected to the Senate of the United States by the legislature of Alabama, but he was not admitted to his seat because his was a State of the American Union that was denied representation in the American Senate.

Again resuming the practice of law he worked earnestly to restore his impaired fortunes, and was active in the assistance of the people in the re-establishment of law and order and the building up of their devastated country. His counsels were wise and prudent, and his example of patient assiduity was greatly encouraging to those who desired to bring social order out of confusion and strife. In this he had the moral support of the masses of the people who stood faithfully by him and never doubted his fidelity.

I need not recite the history of that period to recall the events that rendered such services so invaluable to the people of Alabama. They are known and read of all men. I could not now recite them without incurring the suspicion that I am willing to suggest topics that are still matters of political debate, involving crimination and recrimination, at a time when the proprieties of the occasion would preclude a reply. I would do a wrong to the well-known sentiments of Senator HOUSTON by following such a course. One of his highest qualities was a manly and generous indulgence to those who honestly differed with him in opinion.

I would fail, however, to render a just tribute to the dead,

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and would ignore the control which principle had over his conduct, if I did not say that his guiding light in the dark period of our worst distractions and sufferings in Alabama, which he followed with implicit faith, and asked the people to trust with confidence, was the same that had shone upon his pathway during the whole of his long public life.

He believed in the honesty of the people, and felt always confident of their power to relieve the country of the gravest evils by a faithful observance of the principles of constitutional government that have so long distinguished the democratic party. And when the people of Alabama again called him into their service in 1874 as the governor of the State, he came as a Democrat. Regulating his administration by a rigid observance of those principles of government that he had so long cherished, he, and those who were his supporters, have speedily restored the State of Alabama to a condition that is hailed with gratitude by the people of the State, of every class, and that should excite emotions of pride in the breast of every American.

At the expiration of his first term as governor, the people were ready to honor him still further by electing him a second time to the Senate of the United States, but they had again chosen him governor of the State, and they would not consent to relieve him of that service until he had completed fully the wise course of policy inaugurated during his first term. The people joyfully realized the fact that their future prosperity had been established on an enduring foundation, and that they were much indebted to the wisdom and fidelity of Governor HOUSTON for their deliverance from the worst evils. And when this good and great work had been completed they sent him to the Senate of the United States, where they fondly hoped to enjoy the advantages of his great abilities for yet many years. But death, not entirely unexpected to any man

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of his age, but not less grievous on that account, has cut him off.

The bitterness of this disappointment is severely felt by all classes of the people of Alabama. He was known in almost every household of the State, and his loss is lamented at every fireside almost, from the stately mansions of the rich down to the humblest cabins of the poor.

This imperfect recital of the more prominent facts that make up the history of a life of three-score and ten years, is enough to show that it was full of honorable usefulness. None of the sixty years, from his childhood to the end of his life, was spent in frivolity or dissipation. His time was all occupied with useful preparation and earnest work. His was a life of purpose, whose aim was the performance of duty, and whose coveted reward was honorable success. This he achieved, and his success was sweetened by the answer of a good conscience and made joyful by the approbation of his countrymen.

His mental endowments were of a high order. In its action his mind was vigorous and powerful rather than beautiful and splendid. He was not a genius, if there are such people. He was sufficiently inventive always to find or to discern the safest methods of avoiding evils, and the quickest and least expensive means of escape from them. His mind was active, vigilant, and intense, and was so balanced in judgment, and so guarded against the influence of passionate impulses that he almost infallibly came to correct conclusions. He could safely trust his own convictions and he did trust them, when others who reasoned elaborately were still left in doubt. This faculty was far less the result of close mental discipline than of that excellent organism and balance of mind whose results are so well known and so greatly prized under the homely classification of "good common sense."

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It was this easy and regular and correct method of his mental powers in dealing with the problems that were always requiring solution that enabled him to devote so large a part of his time to executive labors rather than to the study of the opinions of other men. He was rich in the wisdom that was born of his own thoughts, reflections, and experiences, and was not ambitious merely to be considered learned in the erudition which is treasured in books. His moral sense was acute and strong. It was the ruling power in his whole life. In every relation to society and in every act of his public or private life he was guided, controlled, and impelled by an unswerving fidelity to his moral convictions.

It is not enough to say of him that he was honest, for in his judgment of men he rated honesty as an indispensable element in every descent character. He ascended to that higher plane of character which all men love to affect but all cannot rightfully claim. He was a just man. He also recognized with pleasure other adornments of the character of a just man, such as ardent and honorable friendship, benevolence, philanthropy, and a spirit of self-sacrifice for the good of others, in reference to the possession of which he had a good reputation. But he could not tolerate a friendship that was tainted with dishonor; he would never have gratified a feeling of benevolence by taking another man's money to bestow it in charities upon his friends, however worthy they might be. He despised the sort of sentimentalism that is ready to decorate itself with the insignia of broken covenants and of rights destroyed in order to illustrate its zeal for religion, or the rights of man, or any cause however good in itself. He abhorred the hypocrisy which drapes itself in the garments of a pretentious philanthropy, and while they drip with the blood of innocent people, shed in wars really waged for power or spoils, proclaims with

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insolent cant the grand benison, "On earth, peace, and good will toward men." He would make no sacrifices in a cause that he did not believe just, but would spend and be spent in a cause be believed was worthy of his devotion. He was not "generous to a fault," as the apothegm is phrased; he was first just and then generous, according to his reasonable ability. He did not give alms to be seen of men, but he gave them. He did not pray at the street corners, but he prayed fervently.

It is not appropriate perhaps to enter in the sacred circle of his home, and gather there the evidences of the honest nobility of his nature, from the incidents of his interior life; but I may say with propriety, as I do with confidence, that there went forth from his home-life a current of principle which was pure in its fountain, and infused into his public life a tone and character that inspired his countrymen with absolute confidence in his integrity as a statesman and public servant. I own to a conception of the character of a true American statesman that is nearly summed up in the public life of GEORGE S. HOUSTON. I do not mean to say of him that he would have been a great leader in times of turbulence or war, or that he excelled in the powers of debate in the halls of legislation; but he had great sagacity and forecast in the avoidance of calamitous evils. And a firm conviction as to the power of the people to sustain their government when the Constitution is permitted to have its just influence; and in their determination, sooner or later, to assert its supremacy in government, was the sheet-anchor of his political faith. He believed in the capacity of the people to achieve every possible success in their aggregate, and in their individual efforts to become prosperous and happy, if they are left as far as practicable to their right of local self-government. He believed in a government that governs as little as is consistent with the general welfare, and that is sensitive to the

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least infraction of the rights and liberties of the citizen. He believed in the responsibility of the legislative and executive departments to the people for all their public acts, and of the judges for the purity of their judgments. These convictions, supported by an honest reverence for the Constitution, and controlled by a spirit of self-denying restraint on the part of the legislator in reference to the assumption of doubtful powers, comprise a safe creed of American statesmanship. Senator HOUSTON regulated his entire political course in conformity to these principles and rules of conduct. He was among the foremost and most consistent of that class of statesmen of his time who kept a constant watch upon their own conduct and carefully confined the measures they advocated within the boundaries of a strict construction of the powers of Congress.

As chairman of the House Committee of Ways and Means, in which distinguished place he served during several Congresses, he always carefully guarded the people against the imposition of unjust and unnecessary burdens of taxation and kept a close and vigilant watch over public expenditures. This is not always a pleasing task when the hungry expectants of public bounty are sneering in the lobbies and through the press at the parsimony of Congress, or when a majority is created by questionable combinations to force the passage of measures that require extraordinary expenditures of the public money. No man was ever more faithful and few could have been more courageous or useful than my late colleague in withstanding all opposition while he defended the rights of the people against licentious measures. As chairman of the House Committee on the Judiciary he evinced a high order of capacity for solving the many delicate and involved questions that are always requiring patient and careful study and exhaustive research by that committee.

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In his course in Congress, he was earnestly supported by his constituency. This support was the cheerful tribute of the people to an honest representative and to a faithful, dutiful, and able statesman.

It cannot be said that one part of his congressional course was more distinguished than another, or that he on occasions flamed up with extraordinary exhibitions of power in debate.

It is not needful to the real merit of his reputation as a statesman that this should be said. His history is a constant exhibition of great powers honestly exerted and of the highest duties carefully and faithfully performed.

The sturdy forest oak is not more majestic when its arms are tossed wildly about in its battlings with the storms than it is when the gentlest breezes play through its leafy arbors, as it shelters the earth from the rays of the sun. HOUSTON'S life had no startling episodes. It was all devoted to duty, and in its steadfast observance he was able to render a better service to his country than many have done who have employed their great abilities in fomenting the agitations of partisan politics.

I must not do the people of Alabama the injustice to omit an expression of their especial bereavement in the loss of my late colleague as a Senator on this floor, and also of their peculiar gratitude for his services as governor of that State. He was here for so short a period that he had only begun to render that service from which Alabama expected so much of honor and advantage. He was an old man when he came to the Senate, but he had been preserved in such uncommon mental vigor that the people laid upon him with confidence a task that would not have been a light burden in the meridian of his life. We all remember with what cheerfulness he entered upon his duties here, and how zealously he labored to perform them.

The Senate lost an able counselor and a faithful laborer from

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its body and the country lost a wise legislator and a devoted son when HOUSTON died. Alabama lost a counselor and guide from whose service the people had derived the most important benefits. In 1874, when GEORGE S. HOUSTON was first elected governor of Alabama, the people of that State were in sad need of his services. On that occasion the hour and the man met. A State with near a million inhabitants, possessed of immense resources of wealth only in the infancy of development, at the moment when its leading industry was paralyzed by a radical change in its labor system, lost the control of rightful and intelligent government. Those who were strangers to the people and to the laws governed the State.

The results that speedily followed were an increase of its bonded debt from less than $6,000,000 to more than thirty millions within a period of five years, and the depreciation of the taxable value of property of fully 50 per cent., not estimating what had been lost in slave property. It was impossible that the people could pay interest on so large a sum. The holders of the securities were hopeless of the ability of the State to meet any of its engagements. The people were discouraged, emigration rapidly swept off the population, and all industries were conducted with reference only to the supply of immediate necessities. But I will not enter into further details. It is enough to say that no Christian country had ever been worse governed, and no people had ever more entirely lost confidence in the future of a State. The people were so shut out from the hope of good government, and their condition was so obviously bad, that while they were too weak to change their rulers, and did not attempt to resent the wrongs under which they suffered, the Government of the United States, feeling that American citizens so situated must be in a state bordering on revolt, anticipated such a condition of affairs and sent its armies there to prevent it.

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In this way organized injustice and tyranny were supported by organized armies. To restore a State so distracted by malign influences to order and tranquillity, and to give a people so cast down a hope of return to a better condition, was the great work that lay before Governor HOUSTON. It required a statesman to do this work, and a true and courageous patriot to undertake it. HOUSTON was fully competent to the great duty, and nobly did he perform it. His election as governor opened the way to a happy deliverance of the people. He was surrounded by the ablest legislators in the State, who acted in harmony with him in all the great measures that looked to the relief of the people. He was supported by an able, honest, and enlightened judiciary, and the people gathered about him and gave him their confidence without reserve. A new constitution was ordained by the people. Its provisions will be referred to while republican forms of government survive as a pure, simple, and most excellent body of organic law. The public debt was then arranged to the satisfaction of our creditors, through a commission of which Governor HOUSTON was chairman and Tristram B. Bethea and Levi W. Lawler were members. The people of Alabama gratefully appreciate their useful and arduous labors, which have removed a barrier to their progress that threatened to destroy every industry.

Almost with the day of HOUSTON'S first inauguration as governor the glow of returning prosperity began to manifest itself in every part of the State. Confidence took the place of distrust, and the people, with a new hope and increased energies, went to work to rebuild a ruined State.

Governor HOUSTON did not live to see the full realization of this good work he had so carefully inaugurated. Had he lived another seventy years he would not have witnessed its full benefit to his country. Every industry in Alabama is now in

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a prosperous condition, and her credit is above par for gold. Her people are peaceful and happy and the laws are obeyed with cheerfulness by all classes of society.

The methods of government so happily exemplified in the renewed life of this great State, and so successfully employed by Governor HOUSTON, were the result of the faithful application of principles which for more than twenty years were his guide as a Representative in the Federal Congress. It was the earnest hope of his declining years to enjoy the realized assurance that the people will never lose their rights or liberties, and that the country will never again be agitated with sectional strifes. He was full of confidence that if they will hold their rulers to accountability for their public acts and will follow such leaders as deny to themselves the right to usurp powers not granted to them, and who are not ready to appropriate to themselves powers that are doubtful, the people will remain forever free.

I claim that men such as GEORGE S. HOUSTON are true American statesmen. The people estimate their value as being above that of those men of genius whose active and aggressive spirits constantly tempt them into fields of experimental adventure that are filled with dangers to their liberties. A love of glory, a selfish love of power for the advancement of personal aims, is not compatible with a just and safe administration of the enormous powers that are intrusted to our Federal rulers. This is uniformly the judgment of the people when it is not swayed by some great national excitement.

In the history of our government, when the people have had a fair opportunity for deliberate reflection, they have chosen their Presidents from that class of statesmen who obey the popular will when constitutionally expressed, who revere the Constitution of the United States, and who are forbearing in the exercise of powers not clearly conferred upon them. Though

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GEORGE S. HOUSTON may not have been great enough to rule a free people at the expense of their liberties, he was great in his fortitude, ability, and zeal in their defense. In the roll of Senators from Alabama who preceded him to the tomb there are worthy and illustrious names. None of them could have been great as the enemies of constitutional liberty, but they were all great as its defenders.

I doubt if any State has given to the public service within a like period twelve statesmen in the Senate who have done more to advance our country in its vigorous growth, or who have contributed more of wisdom toward shaping its policy, or more of fidelity to the guardianship of the constitutional rights of the States and the people.

We reverently acknowledge the right of GEORGE S. HOUSTON, which is claimed for his memory by the people of Alabama, to have his name inscribed in a place of honor on the roll of her most distinguished sons. The name of GEORGE S. HOUSTON will ever be most worthily associated in our history as a State, and will be recalled by the people of Alabama with emotions of pride and gratitude, along with the names of William R. King, John W. Walker, John McKinley, Israel Pickens, Gabriel Moore, Clement C. Clay, Arthur P. Bagby, Benjamin Fitzpatrick, Dixon H. Lewis, Jeremiah Clemens, and George Goldthwaite, who were his predecessors in the Senate.

With just pride I place his example before young men of the country, and with confidence I ask them to follow it. Nothing is required to be said of him to increase the love of the people of Alabama toward him, or to make his memory more endeared to them. They will never forget that GEORGE S. HOUSTON and his compatriots saved their beautiful State from degradation and ruin. His life was simple, earnest, and just; his devotion to his country was perfect; he left no duty intentionally neg-

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lected or carelessly performed; his record is free from the tarnish of the least reproach; his aspirations were for the good of his countrymen; his ambition was honorable, his success was eminent, and his fame will be excellent and enduring.

Address of Mr. HAMLIN, of Maine.

Mr. PRESIDENT, I rise to second the resolutions which have been introduced by the Senator from Alabama, and thus to add my approval of the expression which they contain of the eminent life and services of the late Senator to which they refer. I formed that opinion by an acquaintance running through more than the third of a century, and an acquaintance which, from the peculiar condition of things, was at one time close and intimate. We were members of the same political organization, and there was that condition of things existing in that organization which brought us in closs personal intimacy.

I thus knew the late Senator well; and in all that long acquaintance it is a pleasure to remember that there was no period of time when that intimacy was disturbed. And it is from that long acquaintance, and from an accurate knowledge of the public life and services of the man, that I state most cheerfully and cordially that there is not one word in the resolutions submitted by the Senator from Alabama which does not meet the approval of my judgment and my heart.

At a later period the deceased Senator and myself disagreed in political matters. We were as wide apart, as far asunder as possible; but of that disagreement it would be unbecoming and would be in want of all good taste for me to speak, and I trust I am incapable of marring the propriety of this occasion by attempting to do so. But in manly honestly I may say that I accord

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to the late Senator, as I do to all others, the right of judgment, opinion, and action, and honesty of purpose, to the precise degree that I claim it for myself. We disagreed, but in that disagreement there was no disturbance of our social relations.

What the Senator, his late colleague, has said in relation to the general character of the man has been most truthfully expressed, and has, indeed, deprived me of the few words that I would have uttered, as they would be little else than repetition. But one point in the life and character of our departed friend, upon which the Senator has not dwelt, and which I think was a leading characteristic, was the sincerity of his purpose and of the convictions upon which he acted. It was that which made him eminent; it was that which gave him success.

As the world defines the term, he was not an orator; but he was more; he was a man of convictions, and upon convictions produced results. The man who stands before the world beaming all over with the honest convictions of his heart is more than a match for oratory and logic combined; he reaches the heart, and the heart carries the head captive. Such a man was GEORGE S. HOUSTON.

He won his victories by his honesty and the sincerity of his purposes, and he made men come to him because they believed him honest; not only because he was one of nature's noblemen, but because they felt the impress of that sincerity of conviction in his heart which flowed from his tongue.

What is oratory is a thing which it would be very hard to define. That which produces results is of vastly more importance than that which the world may call oratory, and GEORGE S. HOUSTON, by his industry and by the sterling good sense which he possessed, has left the impress of his mind upon the statutes of the country, and his memory will live in its history.

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We to-day, sir, are paying a tribute to the memory of that man which is only commensurate with the eminent life and services which he devoted to the country in the councils of the nation. True, the Senator from Alabama has told us that State has contributed to the councils of the nation her just proportion of eminent and distinguished men. She has contributed to this body a Bagby—and I am speaking now, sir, of those only with whom I was personally acquainted—a Bagby, who stood here among the foremost as a wise, an able, and a safe counselor in the administration of the government and in the framing and shaping of its laws, and was transferred to the diplomatic service of the government. She contributed a King, whose presence graced this body, and who, by his experience and his ability, aided vastly in so directing the affairs of the government that they should redound to the glory and promote the best interests of all. He remained in the Senate until he became its father, was thence promoted to the chair, Mr. President, which you so ably fill, and, as I believe I may say, so acceptably to the whole body. He took and subscribed the oath of office, but never entered upon the discharge of its duties, having been called from earth within a few weeks by an inscrutable Providence. She contributed a Lewis, whose wisdom was sought as an oracle by those beyond the limits of his own State, and was often followed. She contributed, not to this body but to the other, one of the most eloquent men whom I have ever met (and in this I am quite sure the only Senator in this body who with me will personally remember him will concur), Yancey, with his impassioned eloquence, who challenged and commanded the attention in thoughts that breathed and words that burned, if he did not convince the judgment.

These are some of the distinguished men of Alabama whom I have personally known; and to this galaxy of stars I say that

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the name of GEORGE S. HOUSTON should be added—differing in character, but in no sense less important. The State of Alabama should cherish his memory and place his name among the foremost men of the State, and we Senators to-day should imitate his example of sincerity of purpose, of honesty of conviction, of untiring zeal, and an industry that never faltered in seeing that all the affairs of the government were rightfully and economically administered.

Alabama should cherish with affection and remember GEORGE S. HOUSTON so long as she shall remember any of her distinguished sons; and while we may imitate all that was good and noble and generous in the deceased Senator, if he like all of us shall have committed his errors, let them slumber in the grave with himself and be forgotten, and let us apply that old maxim, so old that I almost dislike to quote it, had it not been sanctioned by time and hallowed by the best of men—*De mortuis nil nisi bonum.*

Address of Mr. DAVIS, of Illinois.

Mr. PRESIDENT, most of us, when we cross the threshold of this Chamber to present our commissions, have passed the meridian line of life and reached that period when the shadows of declining years lengthen fast. We are few in number, and the contact of daily association draws us near together; for, whatever may be the asperities of party strife, it is to the honor of all sides that, when debate stops, personal intercourse is not disturbed.

Hence it is that a vacant chair in this small body, draped in mourning, touches us all as a family bereavement. We look around and miss the familiar face and the friendly voice, and by a beautiful instinct of man's better nature we recall the vir-

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tues, the generous qualities, the earnest devotion, and the fidelity to duty, of the Senator who has gone, as all must hope, to eternal reward.

It was not my privilege to know personally the late GEORGE S. HOUSTON, whose loss we deplore and whose memory is so justly cherished, until we met here less than a year ago. The honorable ambition of his long and eminent career in the public service had been to close it in this Chamber? He was permitted to attain the object of his pride, and to wear becomingly the distinction he had won for a few short months, and then in the order of God's wise providence he was summoned away.

Should we not all, and especially those of us who are on the descending grade of life, pause to consider how brief at best are the joys of ambition, and how much nobler and more enduring are the prizes in other spheres of human action, consecrated to duty as we are instructed to follow it? Ambition achieved, how few after all reach up to the public expectation! In all history before and since the Christian era how many names stand out as distinctively great? Dull chronology records our presence here and elsewhere, and the waves of oblivion roll over us, as they have rolled over untold millions in past generations.

According to his biographer, Mr. HOUSTON had nearly attained to the age allotted by the Psalmist as man's limit of existence.

He entered public life at the dawn of manhood, and he only parted from it when he bade us farewell for the last time. As a young man he was a member of the Legislature, and for eighteen years he filled a seat in the House of Representatives with recognized credit, attested by his appointment at the head of the foremost committees. Subsequently other honors were tendered to him by the people whose affection and whose confidence he enjoyed without interruption.

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His last service before coming to the Senate was to repair, as governor of the State, the ravages which civil war and misrule had inflicted. In his sojourn here we saw him, as those who knew him best had seen him, all through a career covering first and last almost half a century.

He was proud to be Senator, but the distinction never lifted him up with any false notion, or changed in the least degree that simplicity and integrity of character which seemed to stand out and to invite trust and respect. His mind was not of a brilliant order, nor was his speech eloquent, in the sense of oratory. He belonged to that class of men whose practical wisdom and whose solid sense govern the councils of nations, and who rule cabinets in which they do not appear.

Forty years ago, when the professional reformer was unknown in politics, and when the abuses that give him an excuse to live were not common, Mr. HOUSTON was a sincere and an earnest advocate of economy, as a principle to be rigidly asserted and enforced in the administration of public affairs. He sought to maintain a pure and a plain government after the manner of the fathers. He despised shams, and he opposed official pomp and parade. Devoted to this idea, he was consistent in his support, careful to be right, and conscientiously firm, when a conclusion was reached. His public character might perhaps be best described as that of an upright, sound, and faithful legislator, whose example in all times is worthy of the best emulation and whose life is a valuable instruction.

An unspotted private fame harmonized with these qualities of the public man, so that as citizen, as Representative, and as Senator, he was tried and found to be worthy.

As we pass from these scenes, and look forward to the not distant day when the sad duty which is now discharged for our departed brother must be performed for others, may we all be

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as unsullied in our great office as he was, and as deserving of even so poor a tribute as I have offered to his memory.

Address of Mr. THURMAN, of Ohio.

Mr. PRESIDENT, my acquaintance with our deceased brother began when I took my seat in the House of Representatives in the Twenty-ninth Congress. He had then been for four years a member of that House, and had become a man of mark and influence. He was regarded by all who knew him as a man of excellent understanding, sterling integrity, great industry, and most amiable manners. He was a member of what was then considered the great committee of the House—the Committee of Ways and Means—which then discharged the duties that are now performed by that committee and by the Committee on Appropriations; and I happen to know that its distinguished and very able chairman, General McKay, of North Carolina, regarded him as one of its most industrious and useful members.

Mr. President, it is unnecessary for me to follow Mr. HOUSTON in his subsequent distinguished career. It has been portrayed in the remarks of those who have preceded me far better than I could portray it. A man who enjoyed the confidence of his constituents in so high a degree that he was nine times elected a Representative in Congress, and in five instances without opposition; was twice elected a member of this body, was chosen governor of his State by a decided majority at a time of great difficulty, and when the counsels and services of her best and wisest men were needed, could not have been a man of mere ordinary ability or standing. No, sir; he must have possessed, he did possess, qualities that eminently fitted him for public service under a republican form of government, to which he

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was so much attached, and which caused his death to be deplored by all the people of his State, and not by them alone, but by all who have heard of his virtues and regret to see a good and great man fall.

Address of Mr. SAULSBURY, of Delaware.

Mr. PRESIDENT, with the late Senator HOUSTON I had no acquaintance until he became a member of this body. From what I had heard and know of his public life I had previously formed a high estimate of his character, an estimate which was fully justified by all I saw of him during his brief service in the Senate. Association with him upon two of the standing committees of the Senate afforded me the opportunity of observing the elements of his character, which for a period of more than forty years secured for him the uninterrupted confidence of the people of his State.

Senator HOUSTON entered public life at an early age and was almost continuously thereafter connected with public affairs. He filled the highest and most responsible positions in the State in which he lived, among others was twice elected to the gubernatorial office, and for nearly twenty years represented the Congressional district in which he resided in the other House of Congress. Of the manner in which he discharged the duties of the various positions he held I need not here speak. His election to the Senate after more than forty years spent in public life is proof of his fidelity to every trust as well as the recognition of his services and worth by those he had served so long and so well. Few men have been able to maintain for so great a period their hold on popular favor. Neither integrity of character nor the faithful discharge of public duty is at all times able to protect against the shafts of envy or the intrigues of

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ambitious rivalry. The retention by the late Senator of the unabated confidence of the people among whom he lived and in whose service he had spent his life is at once the proof of his merit and his highest eulogy.

A brief acquaintance with Mr. HOUSTON was sufficient to understand the traits of his character which gave him a controlling influence with the people of his State. He was a man of remarkably sound judgment, which gave to his opinions great weight, and assisted in the formation of public sentiment on all questions affecting the interests of the State. Endowed by nature with strong intellectual power, and dependent in early life for success upon himself, he was cautious in the expression of opinions upon public questions until he had investigated the subject to which they related. His conclusions, formed by reflection and examination, were usually found to be correct, and not only controlled his own action but influenced largely the views and action of others. He was a man of marked decision of character, and impressed others with his honesty by a steadfast adherence to his convictions. He was not, however, intolerant or censorious toward others, but conceded to all the same independence of thought and action which he exercised himself. His firmness in the maintenance of his own views was not the result of too high an estimate of self or too mean an opinion of others, and evinced neither bigotry nor the want of a proper respect for those with whom he differed. Frankness and candor marked throughout his life his intercourse with the people of his State. Concealment was no part of his nature. He was honest with himself and candid with others. He sought no disguises and resorted to no subterfuges, but avowed with manly courage the views he entertained and the purposes he sought to accomplish. Nothing detracts more from character than duplicity, and nothing commands more universal respect than

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frankness and honesty. Senator HOUSTON was never misunderstood by friends or opponents, and commanded the admiration of both by the candor exhibited as well in public as in private life. He stood revealed in his true character before the people of his State, and was trusted for his integrity and loved for his honesty. He was faithful to every trust, discharging the obligations imposed by the positions in which he was placed, not only willingly but cheerfully, shunning neither the labors nor responsibilities which they entailed.

As chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means in the House of Representatives his assiduity and industry were proverbial. I have heard it said that he familiarized himself with the details of every bill brought forward by the committee, and was prepared at all times to furnish required information upon the measures under his charge, and to give a satisfactory explanation of the reasons controlling the committee in their presentation. He came into the Senate at an advanced period of life, with energies doubtless somewhat relaxed by the weight of years and the labors of a long public service; yet he was punctual in his attendance in the Senate and attentive to the business under consideration. He was likewise prompt in the discharge of the duties assigned him by the committees of the body of which he was a member, and his opinions both in the Senate and in committee commanded the respectful attention of his associates. During his last illness, I am informed, his thoughts frequently turned to his duties here. In a letter which I received from him after the commencement of the present session he expressed the hope that he should be with us in a few days and ready to perform any duty assigned him by one of the committees to which he referred. He was social and genial in his nature, free alike from austerity and undue familiarity. Mr. HOUSTON was warmly attached to his friends, and

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in his intercourse with them sought to contribute to their happiness as much as secure his own. There was nothing selfish in his attachments. He regarded his friends too highly to estimate their value by services to himself, and some of his most cherished friendships were based alone upon common sympathies and congeniality of temper and disposition. Toward those with whom he differed he was generous and charitable; no traces of malevolence mar the record of his life, which was singularly free from those asperities which too often embitter the lives of public men.

The close of a life well spent, like the setting sun, reflects back an influence on the world behind. For long years to come the people of Alabama will cherish with just pride the memory of one they delighted to honor and whose services contributed so largely to the prosperity of the State. I shall not obtrude upon the domestic circle to speak of him as a husband and father. Others who know him better will speak of him in that character. In his home centered his greatest interest, and to his wife and children were given his tenderest thoughts and warmest affections. No words of sympathy can mitigate their grief, or repair the loss they have sustained. To them he has left an unsullied memory, a noble example, and an honored name, and to the people of his State the results of a life devoted to their service.

Senators, the death of one so lately in our midst admonishes us of our own mortality and the approach of that inevitable hour that awaits us all. May we so "number our days" that we shall each be ready for the summons when it comes.

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Address of Mr. PENDLETON, of Ohio.

Mr. PRESIDENT, I cannot speak, as others have spoken, of this dead Senator, as one who knew him in the daily walks of his long public life, or in the sacred circle of his family and home. But I knew him well, I esteemed him greatly, I loved him much; and I cannot refrain from adding my leaflet to the rich garlands which appreciation and good-will are to-day placing on his grave.

> No marble marks his couch of lowly sleep,
> But living statues there are seen to weep.
> Affection's semblance bends not o'er his tomb;
> Affection's self deplores his sudden doom.

When I entered Congress, young in years, still younger in experience, I found him an old and honored member, enjoying the honors and wielding the powers of our party organization. We sat in the old Chamber sanctified by so many memories, which has since been made our Walhalla—the temple of our immortals. My seat was near him, and our association there gave rise to a friendship which was as fresh and warm when we met at the extra session last spring as when we parted in sadness in 1861. In that long interval I had seen him but twice; once, for a moment, when he came to Washington on an errand of mercy, and once again when as governor his practical good sense was rescuing Alabama from the accumulated evils of reconstruction. He was serious, earnest, industrious, patient, painstaking, honest, in the consideration of public questions. After investigation he was clear, decided, firm, undoubting in his conclusions. He was unswerving in carrying those conclusions into execution.

A strong sense of duty was the foundation and the mainspring of his investigation and his action. He never wavered

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between duty and inclination. He never gave to party or to self what was meant for country and mankind.

If his intellectual powers did not reach the highest realms where genius sits enthroned, their steadfastness, their steady impulsion toward the truth, the moral qualities which lay beneath their activities, gave to their exercise the widest range of practical usefulness.

He had knowledge which comes from close study and keen observation. He had judgment which accurately collates all knowledge and discerns the end from the beginning. He had wisdom which, seeing both, chooses the better way. He was courteous and gentle and kind. Even in his short career on this floor, his simple, gentle manners showed to us all—

> That best portion of a good man's life,
> His little, nameless, unremembered acts
> Of kindness and of love.

For he had mastered that Divine charity which teaches—

> Never to blend our pleasure, or our pride,
> With sorrow of the meanest thing that feels.

He was modesty itself, and shrunk from self-assertion as if it were almost a crime.

I dare not enter the sacred circle of a loving family, or disturb with stranger's accents the silent sorrow of a stricken fireside. There his kind and genial and cheery nature evoked a pious gladness like that which the gay carol and the joyous flight of the morning lark express as its hymn of praise:

> Type of the wise who soar but do not roam,
> True to the kindred points of Heaven and home.

Mr. President, in the presence of this death, coming to one so full of honors and of years, the friend of us all, the loved associate of some, we must pause.

> 'Tis greatly wise to talk with our past hours,
> And ask them what report they bore to heaven.

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This is the converse which needs no speech. It is the communion which we must have with our own hearts, and be still. It is the introspection which Plato coveted:

> Thou gazest on the stars,
> My soul!
> Oh, gladly would I be
> Yon starry skies with thousand eyes,
> That I might gaze on thee!

It is the introspection which, if we are faithful, will in the end compel our awakened spirits to hear and to heed the admonition—

> Mourn not the perishing of each fair toy;
> Ye were ordained to do, not to enjoy!
> To suffer, which is nobler than to dare.
> A sacred burden is the life ye bear;
> Look on it, lift it, bear it solemnly.
> Stand up and walk beneath it steadfastly:
> Fail not for sorrow, falter not for sin,
> But onward, upward, till the goal ye win.

Address of Mr. PRYOR, of Alabama.

MR. PRESIDENT, this occasion adds further gloom and deepens the grief which I have heretofore felt and which is necessarily further intensified by my surroundings, occupying, as I do, the seat of my departed friend and companion, Hon. GEORGE S. HOUSTON, whom by mysterious and unaccountable events in God's providence I have the honor to immediately succeed. While this is true, it is nevertheless proper and, as I am advised, within the usage of this body, that I, too, in conjunction with other Senators, should express regret on account of his loss to this Chamber, and as a citizen contribute a tear to that stream of sorrow that flows through the heart of the people of his State, who are sorely bereaved by

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the death of their trusted adviser, leader, and representative. Therefore, in addition to the just and touching remarks of other Senators, I ask to submit some facts from which I deduce the conclusion which I shall hereafter announce, that makes up the supremacy of the deceased as a citizen and statesman. I was intimately acquainted and closely connected with Senator HOUSTON for forty years. Living in the same town, county, and State, a portion of this time I was a member of his family, ate at the same table, and slept under the same roof; we were practicing lawyers at the same bar, and partners for many years in the practice, members of the same political party, and in each and every relationship upon the most cordial and confidential terms, with frequent interchange of views and opinions, and in which he disclosed his political sentiments, opinions, desires, hopes, and fears. And, now, Mr. President and Senators, with these means and from those opportunities I am prepared to affirm and claim for the deceased that he was a man free from deformity of mind, body, and heart. He was a man impressive and imposing in his personal appearance. His mind was vigorous, analytical, quick of perception, searching, sufficiently inquisitive, detective, and discriminative. A mind that came to conclusions slowly but certainly, not because of its dullness, but because of its caution, its prudence, its sense of propriety, its sense of rectitude, and when reached never found unjust, prejudiced, biased or partial, and rarely incorrect, standing and withstanding the severest tests. Added to this was a judgment sound, well defined, and trustworthy, and which when once formed was firm and immovable. He was a man of foresight and judgment profound. He was a safe counselor, sagacious, well-trained, and admirably versed in the principles of wise statesmanship and public policy; an instructive, judicious, and adhesive

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friend, unselfish, never withholding his views, but promptly and fully disclosing the same to his associates. His industry in search of truth was rarely equaled. He could not be unduly persuaded, and was beyond seduction to do a wrong. With those capabilities, combined with honesty, fidelity, unswerving principles, and a high sense of honor, he ascended in unbroken triumph through all grades of life from the humblest walks to the exalted station of a Senator in its truest sense.

As a debater he was sagacious, ponderous, and convincing; a man emphatically of argumentation. He had no superior and few equals when dealing with questions of fact; his powers of separation and condensation of facts and their application were wonderful. On questions of law, discriminating, clear, and forcible, with great capacity to present singleness of point. In debate his manner was courteous, becoming, earnest, attractive, and respectful, especially toward his adversary, with a marked toleration in respect to those differing with him in views or sentiments. There dwelt within that house of clay, not only a capacious mind, but also a heart open and frank, and one that knew no guile, no hate—one that ever vibrated to the touch of honor, sympathy, and justice. If upon any occasion he was informed or he felt that he had or may have unintentionally wronged his fellow, he was quick to offer or make amends; while, on the other hand, he was patient, forbearing, and forgiving if his fellow wronged him. Yet while this was true of him, if occasion demanded, he was resolute and manly in the maintenance of his rights and self-respect. As a representative he was faithful in the discharge of his duties. He applied the rule, equally good in morals as in law, that the trustee, agent, or public servant should take and bestow the same care, do and cause to be done to those whom he represented, as a prudent and discreet man did or should do with his own; and by this

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rule he squared all of his representative acts. And there can be no time or place in his long and useful representative life to be found that he did not apply and enforce this rule of conduct. He fully recognized the important fact that this country and government, under the Constitution, belonged to the people, and that this right should be respected and guarded, and that the will of his people should be done, and not his. So feeling, believing, and acting through life, he retained untarnished the warm affection of his people, not because and by the arts of demagogy or by appeals to the prejudices and the baser passions of humanity, but by his masterly argumentation, the firmness and consistency of his convictions, and the devotion to the good of his country. Hence they honored him in life, and bless him and his memory and with us mourn his loss.

While he was ever watchful of the welfare of his State and the good of his people, he was nevertheless national in his views and feelings, greatly desiring the good of the whole country, but having grave doubts and serious forebodings as to its future which greatly annoyed him, for it was his great desire that the Government in essence should be transmitted as it had been received by him from his progenitors. And I can truthfully assert that if a love of country and civil liberty, with guarantees of life, liberty, and property, constitute the patriot, then Senator HOUSTON lived and died a patriot; that, if views and sentiments based upon the highest order of ability and thorough cultivation, that embraced the whole country and people, with the full recognition of equal rights, and without favor, distinction, or prejudice, makes the statesman, then Senator HOUSTON lived and died a statesman.

In his family he was courtly and tender as a husband, as a father affectionate and commanding; in bearing toward his fellow-citizens kind, affable, polite, and respectful, approximat-

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ing cordiality. For there was no station or place of preferment to which he had attained in which he failed to remember that he, too, was born of a woman, of few days, and alike subject to trouble and death.

In conclusion, Mr. President, borrowing an idea and somewhat of phraseology: There was a man that lived and died in the State of Alabama, and that man was upright, and one that feared God and eschewed evil, and that man was the dead Senator, Hon. GEORGE S. HOUSTON, who died full of days, full of usefulness, and full of honors; whose life I shall try to emulate, and whose views I shall be pleased to see accomplished.

Mr. President, I ask for the adoption of the resolutions offered by my colleague.

The resolutions were agreed to unanimously.

Mr. PRYOR. As a further mark of respect to the memory of Mr. HOUSTON, I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; and (at two o'clock and twenty-five minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned.

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PROCEEDINGS

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

JANUARY 6, 1880.

Mr. FORNEY. Mr. SPEAKER, it becomes my painful duty to announce to this House the death of Hon. GEORGE S. HOUSTON, late United States Senator from the State of Alabama. He died at his residence at Athens, Alabama, on the 31st of last December. I desire, sir, to present the following resolutions; and I shall further ask that the House, at some future day, set apart some time for the consideration of appropriate memorial resolutions:

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the members of the House of Representatives have heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. GEORGE S. HOUSTON, late Senator of the United States from the State of Alabama, and tender to his bereaved family their sincere sympathy and condolence.

Resolved, That, as a testimony of the respect they bear the memory of the deceased, this House do now adjourn until twelve o'clock to-morrow.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted; and accordingly (at one o'clock and forty-three minutes p. m.) the House adjourned.

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ADDRESSES

ON THE

DEATH OF GEORGE S. HOUSTON,

A SENATOR FROM ALABAMA.

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 3, 1880.

Mr. FORNEY. Mr. SPEAKER, I ask that the resolutions from the Senate on the death of the late Hon. GEORGE S. HOUSTON be taken from the Speaker's table and read.

The SPEAKER. The Chair lays before the House the following resolutions from the Senate.

The Clerk read as follows:

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
February 26, 1880.

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with regret of the death of Hon. GEORGE S. HOUSTON, a Senator from the State of Alabama, and extends to the family of the deceased Senator and to the people of Alabama sincere condolence in their bereavement.

II. That the long public service of GEORGE S. HOUSTON has been marked by fidelity to his convictions of duty, by industry and patience in his labors for the public welfare, by distinguished ability in the legislative councils of the United States, and by devoted and wise services to Alabama as governor of that State.

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III. That the Secretary of the Senate transmit to the family of the deceased, and to the governor of Alabama, a copy of these resolutions, with the action of the Senate thereon.

Mr. FORNEY. I offer the following resolutions, which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House of Representatives has received with profound sorrow the announcement of the death of Hon. GEORGE S. HOUSTON, late a Senator of the United States from the State of Alabama.

Resolved, That the business of the House be now suspended to allow suitable tributes to be paid to his many virtues; and, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Senator, the House, at the conclusion of said tributes, shall adjourn.

Address of Mr. FORNEY, of Alabama.

Mr. SPEAKER, Alabama asks this House to pause for the present in its legislative labors, and unite with her in paying a suitable tribute of respect to the memory of her deceased Senator, Hon. GEORGE S. HOUSTON, who died at his home in Athens on the 31st of December last, beloved, honored, and esteemed by the citizens of his State. The announcement of his death was a shock to the people, who had so recently, through their representatives, conferred upon him the highest position within their gift. He lived to a ripe old age; he had reached his three score and ten years.

Senator HOUSTON was born in Williamson County, in the State of Tennessee. Although not a native of Alabama, yet he had resided within her borders full sixty years, from the date of her admission into the Union as a State. He selected for his profession the law. Soon after he was admitted to the bar, on account of his studious habits, close attention to business, and exemplary conduct, the people of Lauderdale County elected him to the Legislature. Rising rapidly in his profes-

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sion, in 1837 he was elected solicitor of the circuit in which he resided. While in that position he made great reputation as a lawyer of ability, and evinced, at that early period of his career, that unimpeachable integrity, earnest devotion to duty, and sacred regard for the inviolability of public trust that governed him in his future political life and made him so conspicuous among his fellow-citizens. So well had he discharged the duties of his office, so satisfactory his conduct, at the close of his term as solicitor the people elected him a member of the Twenty-seventh Congress. He took his seat in this House in the year 1841, and was successively re-elected a member, frequently without opposition, until 1861, except to the Thirty-first Congress, when he declined a re-election.

I will not stop to speak of the great services rendered his State or the country during the eighteen years he sat as a member upon this floor. His record speaks for itself. While a member of this body he occupied the most important positions as chairman of prominent committees. During his long service as a member of Congress he stood high in the esteem of the great and good men with whom he was associated in that day and time. He was one of the color-guard of the Treasury; his record shows with what watchful care he guarded it. He was an able and faithful public servant; a true patriot, his patriotism was not bounded by State lines, but embraced his entire country. Integrity was the granite base upon which he reared the superstructure of his political life; that sterling integrity placed him beyond the reach of temptation. At the close of his long public service no blot, no stain tarnished his bright escutcheon. No bribe ever polluted his fingers or left a dark spot in his hands. At all times with him "a good name was rather to be chosen than great riches, a loving favor than silver and gold."

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He was a popular and successful man. To his great popularity and success in life he was indebted to his native talent, his known integrity, his purity, honesty, and to his knowledge of human nature. He studied the people more and knew them better than he did books. He was a good judge of the popular feeling and popular demand. He was truly the friend of the people, he consulted their wishes, conditions, and interest. He honestly desired their happiness and welfare, and possessed the happy faculty of making them believe it. The people believed he was honest and true; they knew he was capable and faithful, and were ever ready to place him in power. He was never defeated before the people for an office. As a debater he had few superiors upon the stump. He was powerful in a political campaign. He could attract the attention of the masses and hold it with interest to the close of his address. He was not a man of brilliant or showy talent, nor what the world calls a genius. He never originated new departures in politics, but clung with tenacity to the old landmarks established by the fathers. Neither did he dazzle the country with his eloquence or glowing declamation. Nor was he an impassioned orator, or one that charmed for the moment. He appealed to the judgment, not to the passions. In his speeches to the people his end and aim was to be understood, to carry conviction to the minds of his hearers, to make an impression which would last. He would never drop the iron-wrought link in his chain of argument to supply it with the silvery net-work of poesy. He was what might be called an instructive and convincing speaker—one that carried his point.

The crowning acts of his life, those that endeared him most to the people of his State, were the services rendered them while governor of Alabama. His political friends, unsolicited by him, in the year 1874 nominated him as their standard-

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bearer for governor. The people elected him by a decided majority. When he took control of the helm of state as governor of Alabama there was no money in the treasury, and the great problem then to be solved was the debt question—the debt which had been illegally contracted during the days of reconstruction, while Alabama was under the dominion of a class of men who had flocked, like birds of prey, within her borders to feed and gorge upon the little that the war had left her people; men whose interests were not identified with the best interest of the State, whose end and aim were personal aggrandizement. During those days extravagance and corruption had held full sway; an immense debt had been wrongfully fastened upon the State. He entered upon the discharge of his duties as governor with a determination to bring relief to his suffering people. He was equal to the great emergency. Economy in all matters of state became his watchword. Under his administration the people soon began to have faith in their ultimate redemption, hope was stimulated and confidence inspired. At the close of his first term the people almost with one acclaim said, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant," and re-elected him by an immense majority. While governor the State commissioned him and two others of her citizens alike distinguished for their ability, honesty, and probity (Hon. T. B. Bethea and General L. W. Lawler), with power to adjust and settle the State's indebtedness. The result of the labors of the commission met with the cordial approval of the people. The debt was adjusted honorably to the State and satisfactory to the creditors. It can be truly said of him that in the many responsible positions which he filled during his forty years' service as a public man he never failed to prove himself equal to the duties devolved upon him and worthy of the confidence and trust reposed in him.

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He possessed administrative and executive capacity of no ordinary character. His administration of the affairs of state while governor was such as commanded the esteem and confidence of his political opponents as well as his party friends. As an evidence of the people's high appreciation of his services, the legislature of his State elected him at the close of his term as governor, to the Senate of the United States. He took his seat at the commencement of the late extra session. He was not permitted to serve out the term of his election. Death stopped him in his useful career. He died with his harness upon him. He has crossed over the river. His manly and stalwart form lies in the graveyard of the village in which he spent the greater portion of his life. He sleeps in the beautiful valley of the Tennessee, the loveliest portion of Alabama.

> No lovelier land the prophet viewed,
> When on the sacred mount he stood,
> And saw below, transcendent shine,
> The streams and groves of Palestine.

There he will rest, his dust mingling with the dust of kindred, friends, and neighbors, until the morn of resurrection, his memory enshrined in the hearts of a grateful people, his name enrolled on the list of Alabama's most illustrious dead, long to be remembered as one who had done his State some service, who died as he had lived, "an honest man, the noblest work of God."

Address of Mr. STEPHENS, of Georgia.

Mr. SPEAKER, I second the resolutions submitted by the gentleman [Mr. FORNEY] from the seventh Congressional district of Alabama. There is, perhaps, no one in the present House from whom this tribute to the memory and eminent virtues of the deceased could more appropriately come than from

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myself. When I took my seat for the first time in this Hall—or rather the old Hall—on the 11th of December, 1843, I found Mr. HOUSTON a member. He was two years ahead of me in this branch of the public service. I left him here when I retired in 1859, though he was on his own voluntary action not a member from 1849 to 1851. When I met him he had during his first Congress acquired considerable reputation as a man of ability, integrity, and business qualifications. He was then on the Committee on Public Lands. Just over to the right of the aisle, as you pass from the Clerk's desk to the outer center door, he sat usually engaged, when nothing interesting was occupying the attention of the House, in reading or answering letters or examining papers. He seemed never to be idle. My seat was far off to the left of the Speaker, near the outer row. I well remember the first impression upon my mind upon seeing him in his place. During our association on this floor I met him often, not only in consultation upon public matters, but socially. I therefore knew him long, well, and intimately.

While he was not a man of genius, so called, yet by industry, application and assiduity in the discharge of his duties he rose to the leadership of the House—to the chairmanship of the Committee of Ways and Means. We differed in political associations during the whole period of our joint service on this floor; but in the essential principles of the true Jeffersonian democratic creed we never differed. Our friendly relations were never marred, or even jarred, during our long association in the public councils. In personal appearance Mr. HOUSTON presented a fine physique. He was well developed in manly form. His complexion was ruddy. His voice was strong and good, though somewhat sharp and shrill for a man of his size. It was exceedingly penetrating. In debate he was didactic, clear, and perspicuous. In social qualities he was always

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agreeable and affable, and never austere in manner. He possessed great equanimity of temper. He was always cheerful, and never was seemingly depressed on account of anything. He was ever buoyant in spirit. He had the fortitude of a Christian with the philosophy of a stoic. In oratory he seldom assumed the declamatory style, and hence was never regarded as among the brilliant speakers of the House. His object on all occasions seemed rather to convince the judgment by logical argument than to enliven the imagination by rhetorical displays. He was emphatically a man of work and business. Labor was his pleasure. With him it seemed that—

The bliss of life is the bliss of toil.

Such were a few of the many virtues and excellences of GEORGE S. HOUSTON, by which he rose from the humblest walks of life to the highest honors and distinctions his fellow-citizens could bestow. Sustained by honor, truth, integrity, and uprightness of purpose, with a spotless purity of character during a long and eventful career, he has gone to his grave leaving a name that will perish only with the history of his country.

In referring, Mr. Speaker, to the events of my first acquaintance with my distinguished departed friend and the very memorable occasion in my life when I first took my seat in the Federal House of Representatives, reminiscences of very deep impression are vividly awakened in my mind. It may not be inappropriate in these funeral ceremonies to recall some of these.

It was nearly forty years ago. What changes have taken place since then!—changes especially in the constituent elements and the *personnel* of this House and the other wing of the Capitol, as well as the controlling actors in every depart-

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ment of our public affairs. In respect to the House of Representatives and its surroundings, to a perfect stranger looking down from one of the galleries everything would seem now quite like it did then. He would see the same conformation of the Hall, the same arrangement of seats, the same or similar aisles. In looking on he would see no change in the proceedings of the body. He would see the same routine of business; the Speaker in the chair now as then; the clerks at the desk now as then; the call of the roll now as then; the Sergeant-at-Arms—the mace, the *insignium* of his authority—the Doorkeepers and pages now as then. The House itself he would see now composed, as then, of old, middle-aged, and young. The actors in the drama, to one so looking down, would appear to be the same; yet how different are the individual actors in the scenes now from those who figured upon the stage at that time.

When I entered Congress John W. Jones, of Virginia, was Speaker. Then just over there to the left sat the venerable John Quincy Adams, ripened with age and honors, and whose learning in all the departments of science, literature, art, history, and politics was, perhaps, unsurpassed in his day. Around there on the extreme right sat Henry A. Wise, the distinguished member from Accomack, Virginia, then recognized as the most eloquent member of the House. He was soon transferred to a higher public service. A little in his rear and still on the right of the Speaker sat Lucius Q. C. Elmer, an accomplished member from New Jersey, who was then at the head of the Committee of Elections, who is still living, I believe, and enjoying in his old age that *otium cum dignitate* which is the crowning glory of a well-spent life.

Still further to his right on the same side was the venerable William Wilkins, of Pennsylvania, then at the head of the

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Committee on the Judiciary. A little in front of him, and near where Mr. FERNANDO WOOD now sits, was James J. McKay, of North Carolina, then head of the Committee of Ways and Means. In all respects he seemed to be formed after the model of his great predecessor, Nathaniel Macon. Then near up in front sat Robert C. Winthrop, one of the acknowledged leaders on the whig side of the Chamber. Just over on the other side of the middle aisle, on the left of the Speaker, sat the brothers, Joseph R. and Jared Ingersoll, from Pennsylvania, both leaders, though on opposite sides in politics, Joseph R. being a whig and Jared a democrat. The latter was then at the head of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Then a little to the rear of these and farther to the left sat Samuel F. Vinton, of Ohio, whose acquaintance with the rules, great prudence, and sound judgment rendered him, perhaps, the most prominent leader on the whig side.

Allow me here to digress to say that the accomplished daughter of this great statesman, Mrs. Madeline Vinton Dahlgren, now lives in the city, and for several years has been the center of a literary society which does honor, not only to the metropolis, but to the whole country, and from whose pen there has been added a very valuable contribution to our political literature by her admirable translation from the French of Adolphe De Chambrun's treatise on the "Executive power of the United States."

Just to the right of Mr. Vinton and a little farther to the left of the Speaker sat another whig leader. This was Garrett Davis, of Kentucky, ever active, watchful, and vigilant.

The head of the Committee on Commerce at that time was Isaac E. Holmes, of Charleston, South Carolina. He was one of the most pleasant and agreeable men of the House. His colleague, Hon. R. Barnwell Rhett, was then already distin-

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guished as one of the most prominent members of the House and statesmen of the country. He was then in the prime of life and full vigor of manhood. He had been here for several years, and, perhaps, at that time was at the height of his distinction. His seat was just there near the front.

Among the whig leaders in that Congress two others must be mentioned. One was Kenneth Rayner, of North Carolina, who is at present Solicitor of the Treasury; and the other was John P. Kennedy, of Maryland, the biographer of Wirt. All these were of the older class or of former Congresses.

With me in the Twenty-eighth Congress came quite a shoal of new members, many of whom have acted important parts in the history of the country since. Of these standing out most prominently in my memory at this moment are HANNIBAL HAMLIN, of Maine, since Vice-President of the United States, and now Senator in the other wing of the Capitol. Stephen A. Douglas and John A. McClernand, of Illinois, the latter of whom acted a very conspicuous part in the late war, and presided over the Saint Louis convention of 1876, while the name and fame of Douglas are deeply engraven upon the pages of our country's history. Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, who first became Vice-President and then President of the United States. Alexander Ramsey, of Pennsylvania, who is now Secretary of War. Hamilton Fish, of New York, who for eight years presided with so much ability and distinction over the State Department. Robert C. Schenck, of Ohio, who has since served his country in many high positions, and who still lives, and is a citizen of this city. Preston King, of New York; John Slidell, of Louisiana; John P. Hale, of New Hampshire; Robert McClelland, of Michigan; George P. Marsh, of Vermont; George W. Jones, of Tennessee; Thomas L. Clingman, of North Carolina, and Howell Cobb, of Georgia.

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Robert Toombs, another distinguished Georgian, who has acted a great part since, and Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, and William L. Yancey, of Alabama, came in two years after. All these and others in that shoal have figured extensively in the subsequent history of our country. Most of them, it is true, have gone to their long homes—a few of them are still surviving. One in that list, not yet mentioned, I cannot omit on this occasion. I refer to Felix Grundy McConnell, of Alabama. He was one of the most extraordinary men I ever met with. Those who knew him can never forget him. He was without education, but with talents of the highest order. He was the original author and mover of the homestead idea in relation to the public lands. He was cut down early in life, lamented by all.

Now, Mr. Speaker, a glance at the Senate as it was then composed: There was George Evans, of Maine; Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire; the brilliant and eloquent Choate, of Massachusetts; Silas Wright, of New York; William L. Dayton, of New Jersey; James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania; William C. Rives and William S. Archer, of Virginia; Willie P. Mangum, of North Carolina; George McDuffie, of South Carolina; John M. Berrien and Walter T. Colquitt, of Georgia; William R. King and Arthur P. Bagby, of Alabama; Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi; John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky; William Allen, of Ohio; Thomas H. Benton and David R. Atchison, of Missouri.

These were all giants in intellect and Titans in debate, although neither Calhoun, Clay, nor Webster, the great trio of American orators and statesmen, was then in that body. Calhoun was in voluntary retirement, and was soon called to the State Department. Clay had left the Senate the year before to lead the whigs in the presidential canvass of 1844.

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Webster had just left Tyler's cabinet, after the ratification of the treaty of Washington, which was his masterpiece of diplomacy. By it an amicable and advantageous settlement was effected on the long-vexed question of the northeastern boundary between the United States and the British Possessions. For remaining in Tyler's cabinet to accomplish this great and patriotic purpose he had excited the opposition of his party associates throughout the country, and had especially excited great indignation on the part of the whigs in Massachusetts. This was a memorable epoch in his life. He went to Boston to defend himself. In speaking of this crisis in his affairs, I may be excused on this occasion in quoting what Theodore Parker said of Mr. Webster at that time:

> The clouds had thickened into blackness, all around and over him, and hurled their thunders fearfully upon his devoted head, but there he stood in Faneuil Hall and thundered back again. It was the ground lightning from his Olympian brain.

Mr. Webster's contest with the whigs of Massachusetts ended with his again being returned to the Senate in 1845, where he again met Mr. Calhoun, and where they both again met Mr. Clay in 1849.

With several changes in the *personnel* before stated, the American Senate was perhaps at this period the most august body ever before assembled in this country. Cass was there. Hunter was there. Seward was there. Davis and Foote, of Mississippi, were there. Douglas was there. It was by this body and the House of Representatives, after a most exciting and protracted debate for months, that the great sectional questions were peacefully adjusted in 1850, under the lead and auspices mainly of Clay, Webster, Cass, Foote, and Douglas. Mr. Calhoun died while the debate was going on.

But, Mr. Speaker, I can indulge in these reminiscences no

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longer. They were suggested by the occasion. From what has been said some idea can be formed of the character of the men with whom GEORGE S. HOUSTON was brought in contact through his eventful life, of which others will speak; and therefore the more correct estimate may be placed upon the merits of one who, under the circumstances, achieved the distinction he did. It was certainly enough to gratify the highest ambition, but he, if I understood him, had no ambition but to perform his duty, and in its faithful discharge to render himself useful to his fellow-men in his day and generation. Honor to his memory, and peace to his ashes.

Address of Mr. WRIGHT, of Pennsylvania.

Mr. SPEAKER, it was a great many years ago that I met Mr. HOUSTON in public life. In the Thirty-third Congress, which is nearly a third of a century since, I first met him. We then occupied the old hall of the Capitol. The foundations of this Chamber had not been laid when Mr. HOUSTON and I came into this legislative body. I refer back through that long series of years with a great deal of satisfaction in the reminiscences that I make now and then of the old, solid men who were associated with me in the legislation of that period. When we met here, sir, I found in the House of Representatives in that Thirty-third Congress such men as Thomas H. Benton, ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS, Thomas H. Bailey, John Letcher, George W. Jones, John C. Breckinridge, and Thomas A. Hendricks. Contemporaneous with us in the other branch of the National Legislature there were Mr. Everett, Charles Sumner, Stephen A. Douglas, Salmon P. Chase, Lewis Cass, William H. Seward, R. M. T. Hunter, and many others

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that I might name. So that at the time to which I refer, and when I first formed the acquaintance of Governor HOUSTON, there were not only eminent men in this House, but very eminent men in the co-ordinate branch of Congress. Even amidst this array of celebrated men Governor HOUSTON, although perhaps he might not rank in point of intellect and power with some of the men whom I have named, at that time in this House had a prominent standing and an exalted position. He was chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, which then had more significance, I am sorry to say, than it has now—I do not speak disparagingly of the ability of the gentlemen who compose it now, but of the character and standing that the committee under the rules of the House ought to have. It was a proud and an honored position to be held among the distinguished men to whom I have referred. But a few years before this time the Senate presented a galaxy of intellectual power that has never been exceeded in the history of this country or of any other in the world. I refer to the days when Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Webster, and Mr. Clay occupied positions in the Senate, and other gentlemen of almost equal ability composed the Senate of the United States. The time I speak of, when I came here, these distinguished men had passed away.

I was present in the Senate when the eulogies were pronounced on Mr. Clay, and they made a great impression upon me. Men in those days could listen to eulogies on their dead colleagues and not employ themselves in conversing or making disorder in the galleries. It would seem to be in better taste now to follow the example.

Governor HOUSTON I met for the last time previous to my leaving for my home during the holidays. He then appeared to be in good ordinary health, but the insidious enemy was

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upon his track—the enemy that is upon the track of all of us, and when and where he shall come is unknown to any of us. There are some things, Mr. Speaker, that we do know:

> We know that moons shall wane,
> And summer birds from far shall cross the sea;
> But who shall tell us when to look for death?

Ah, Mr. Speaker,

> He has all seasons for his own.

Governor HOUSTON was my junior by some three years, and in the ordinary course of nature I should have preceded him upon the journey to that goal in the distance that is so little known to us all, but which sooner or latter it is part of our destiny to make. In my associations with Governor HOUSTON I found him not what the world might call a great man, but better than that, Mr. Speaker, I found him to be an honest man and a good man, and greatness without these additional qualifications amounts to literally nothing in making up and forming the true standard of human character. Greatness without those essential qualities of the mind and heart, kindness, goodness, charity, honesty, is sadly robbed of its exalted status.

There are arbitrary terms we use in speaking of the attributes of human character. There are terms which we use in forming our opinion and estimate of the human mind, and I have lived to a long period and have mingled with a great many men, but in forming my opinion of what I regard as the character of a great man I want something else than genius as the sole qualification of a statesman, a warrior, or a distinguished jurist. I want greatness to go beyond that point. I want a man great in the noble qualities which distinguish our race; not

> Great like Cæsar stained in blood,
> But only great as we are good.

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So I classify my distinguished friend now deceased, the friend of my early days, a man whose kind, generous heart endeared him to me; a man without guile.

I heard it said here, in these opening eulogies, on the part of the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. FORNEY], that during the long period of Governor HOUSTON'S life no charge had ever been brought home to him of dishonesty, either in public or private life. Heavens! That is the reputation that makes a man great. Nearly a third of a century in Congress, and no charge of malfeasance made against him. The voice of slander even hushed; that forked tongue which throws its venom against the good, the honest, the prudent—in short, against many men of pure principles and upright life. How should he have escaped?

If there be any one thing dearer to me than another in forming the estimate of the true character of my friend, let it be said that he has been of some service to his fellow-creatures, and possessing those elements of greatness that lead him to the giving of relief to others. That is true greatness. I do not detract from the reputation of those who have won their spurs upon the battle-field; I do not detract from the reputation of those who have led senates and in that sphere obtained a great and renowed reputation; I do not detract from those who have been renowned in the administration of the laws of the land. They have gained their laurels; let them wear them. But I hold in higher regard the reputation of those who have not reached such exalted positions, but who have excelled in all the great qualifications that adorn the human heart and place the crown upon the human head. I want such qualifications to be considered a part and parcel of those who in these days constitute greatness—not greatness in one thing, but greatness in all things.

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We have before us to-day the history of a man who has passed a score of years in public life and whose reputation for honesty and integrity has grown brighter and brighter, though there have been occasions when temptations have been great, in the way of virtuous life. Such are the traditions of times past. He maintained unsullied his reputation, and even to the end of his career he is the same kind, generous, and upright man; his eye constantly on his duties here, fighting for a frugal administration of the government, he has won no enemies and made all his friends. That, Mr. Speaker, is greatness according to my conception of the word.

So he pursued his onward way, beloved by all, liked by all, despised by none. Peacefully and quietly he goes down to his grave when no voice can be raised against him or any of the transactions of his life. Sir, it gives me pleasure to stand up here before this House and before the nation and record in strong language my admiration and my approval of a man so distinguished through so long a period of public life. Hushed is the voice of defamation. He is beyond the reach of calumny, because none are so daring as to cast the imputation.

I felt it my duty to say this much in memory of an old and highly-esteemed friend. I should perhaps, in justice to his memory, have reduced my thoughts to paper and have presented them in a more condensed and appropriate way. My time was too much occupied; but, preferring to say something, I trusted to the inspiration of the occasion. What I have said was from the impulse of the moment, and perhaps better conceived and better said than if I had sat in my closet for a week preparing a eulogy. God bless the memory of GEORGE S. HOUSTON.

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Address of Mr. WOOD, of New York.

Mr. SPEAKER, I cannot let this melancholy occasion pass without adding a word in commemoration of the distinguished deceased. Although I did not know him as well by personal association as others, I think none now in congressional life knew him so early and so long. I met him first as an associate member of the Twenty-seventh Congress, in the month of May, 1841, which is now nearly thirty-nine years ago. He was a leading man at that time, in a Congress distinguished for the presence in this body of John Quincy Adams, Millard Fillmore, Henry A. Wise, Robert C. Winthrop, R. M. T. Hunter, and others, foremost in the annals of American legislation, while in the Senate were John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Thomas H. Benton, Silas Wright, and others, whose fame and names stand in history as among the first of modern statesmen. To have been a noticeable man among such men was of itself sufficient to entitle one to a claim for eminence.

And such a man was GEORGE S. HOUSTON. He possessed a clear, calm, and solid intellectual force. Without ornament or effort for display in debate, he was always intelligent and instructive. I well remember him at that time as a kind gentleman, obliging to the younger members, and always of service in enabling us to acquire a knowledge of the practice of the House. He has gone! He has but followed to the grave nearly every member of that Congress. The places that knew them then in these halls "shall know them no more forever." One by one have those who figured so conspicuously in the debates upon this floor, and who led their followers in forensic struggles, one by one have they gone down amid all their honors to the last sad resting-place of departed glory. Sir,

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when I look around upon my associates now and remember those to whom I held the same relations then, I am more than impressed with the stern realities of time and the inexorable demands of nature.

Not one of the men with whom I served in the Twenty-seventh Congress is here now, and but few—ay, indeed, but eight or ten out of the three hundred members of both Houses—are living. Gone forever!

When these thoughts force themselves upon me and I am brought face to face with this melancholy fact, when I look upon these seats and fail to find one, not one, of my early associates in Congress, it looks cheerless and dark. Sad thoughts are forced upon me, and the narrow and growing narrower period of my own continuance is made more evident and more positive.

> I feel like one who treads alone
> Some banquet-hall deserted;
> Whose lights are fled, whose garlands dead,
> And all but he departed.

Address of Mr. HARRIS, of Virginia.

Mr. SPEAKER, for the last twenty years I was honored with the friendship of the gentleman whose death the country now mourns, and who served it so faithfully in varied and highly responsible positions. From intimate knowledge of his character, his proper meed of praise must emanate from an abler source than mine. Our friendship began as members of this body during that trying epoch in the history of nations—the Thirty-sixth Congress—embracing the year 1860 to 1861. During that stormy period his counsel and his votes were always in the interest of peace and for the perpetuity

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of the Union. His thoughtful mind comprehended the perils of the times. He saw the storm in the near future and bent all the energies of his ardent and patriotic nature to avert it.

Since his entry upon the stage of public action so many changes have swept across the face of society that his retention of confidence and support has but seldom been paralleled in our political history. For over twenty years before I made his acquaintance or was honored with his friendship his people had intrusted him with high and responsible duties. When his career began the country was comparatively in its infancy, struggling with the ill-concealed hostility of the great and despotic states of the Old World. When it needed the fostering care of brave hearts and great minds he was one of its stanchest supporters and ablest advocates and defenders. When death sought and conquered himt he feeble Government of his early career had grown to gigantic proportions; a thousand varied and conflicting interests had subjected our institutions to the strains that follow far-reaching territory and large populations—had changed us from a people who then subordinated everything to love of country to a people whose national interests compelled each locality to contend for the maintenance of an equal balance of the favors and the protection governments afford.

A period intermediate between his entry into public life and his death represented one of the darkest eras in human history; when our unhappy country was torn by civil conflict the like of which perhaps has never been witnessed since the morning of creation; when brother was arrayed against brother in deadly strife and all our rivers ran red with the blood of the bravest and the best of our sons—as a result of which institutions that had given shape and characteristics to the society that had always honored him were swept from existence by a decree as

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eternal as the mountains, and a new order of things shaped from political chaos was to be wrought out for the salvation of his people.

His was the hand to which his neighbors intrusted the helm. That he faithfully and successfully fulfilled this high mission is now recorded in public history. His epitaph is written in the praises of a redeemed, a great, and a free State. His judgment was so tempered by sound philosophy that no sentiment ever escaped his lips during his whole career that could affect the nicest sectional susceptibilities. While loving the State that had fostered and trusted him in his youth and sustained him in his manhood, he was as broad as his country and as just as Aristides. His counsels during the short period he served in the Senate tended always to the promotion of peace among all our people, and his ambition was that the institutions handed down by our fathers should be perpetuated here to so elevate mankind that by force of example empires and kingdoms would crumble to dust, and that the people should be the masters of their own destiny throughout the world.

Such men always die too young; but their example lives after them, and so molds and shapes coming events that the order of affairs is tending ever to a higher and a more just public control, is tending ever in a republican government against turbulence and bloodshed; is carving a pathway through the darkness of the past to a brighter, more hopeful, and peaceful future. In losing the dead Senator the Union has lost an able defender, every honest and good man an admirer, and myself one of the best of friends and the safest of advisers. To those more nearly allied to him the solace is that his spirit is with his and their kindred in the presence of the Most High; that the purity and justice of his life assure him a blessed immortality.

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Address of Mr. HOUSE, of Tennessee.

Mr. SPEAKER, the career of the politician and statesman in this country is beset with as many difficulties and burdened with as many cares as man is called to meet on any other path of life which duty or ambition may prompt him to travel. To the young and aspiring, fancy invests no place with more fascinating attractions than that of high political position. In a land where the very highest office under the Government is open to the obscurest boy, and where the very humblest have reached the exalted position, it could not be otherwise than that the avenues to political preferment should be crowded with eager aspirants. But along the track of political conflict how many hopes have been wrecked and how many dreams have perished! And even among those who reach the goal of their ambition, how many feel in the very hour of their success that they have but imitated the ardent boy that chases the gay butterfly only to find it, when caught, turn to gilded dust upon his fingers. The man of the people treads no flowery path. He lives and moves in the glare of public observation, his motives often impugned, his private character perhaps criticised and assailed, his course always open to the animadversion of political foes and watched with unfriendly scrutiny, it may be, even by political friends, with the hope of detecting some fault or mistake in his public service which may forfeit the support of his constituents and cause them to retire him in favor of some more fortunate rival. His whole career is often an animated struggle for political existence, in which he is exposed at the same time to a fire in front and rear. Even if victorious in the unequal conflict, he frequently receives wounds that follow him to the grave.

His private character is too often considered public property,

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which the irresponsible scribbler feels himself licensed to deal with as he would partake of a free lunch or speak of the weather. In the partisan struggles of this country there has always been too little regard paid to personal reputation. It has been too much the custom to regard everything fair in politics, as in war, and to treat a political adversary as an outlaw against whom it is legitimate to use even poisoned weapons of warfare. There are too many leading journals that do not hesitate to publish any rumor against a political adversary which will create a sensation or score a point against the opposite party. The rumor may be wholly unfounded; its publication may blast a human life and plant a thorn that will rankle in innocent hearts until they cease to beat; but the newspaper has enjoyed the profit of a sensation and the pleasure of befouling the reputation of a political opponent. 'Tis but a poor recompense to a man thus injured and slandered, and to his suffering family, to be told by the newspaper that has voiced the scandal to its thousands of readers that he can have the use of its columns to refute the calumny. Equipped in its seven-league boots the falsehood sets out on its journey and laughs to scorn all the efforts that truth can make to overtake and disarm it.

The press of the country should lift itself above the level of the common tale-bearer and scandal-monger. Neither the race of diligence in giving news to the public, nor a desire to win a character for enterprise, nor an effort to promote the fortunes of a political party should cause our public journals to wield the immense power they possess to destroy private character. No meritorious cause is subserved by unjust and libelous attacks on individual reputation. No man who occupies a public position can claim to be exempt from criticism. His public acts are public property, and he has no right to complain if

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they are censured or condemned. But every man, as long as he conducts himself as a gentleman, has a right to expect and demand that his private character shall be free from the assaults of falsehood and calumny. But how many of our distinguished public men have enjoyed this immunity while battling with the elements of party strife and climbing to the mountain ranges of political ambition? But however unhappy the life of a public man may be made by this uncivilized mode of warfare, he may always console himself with the reflection that the people are neither unjust nor ungenerous to a faithful public servant. If he is true to his trust, true to himself, and true to his constituents, they will neither withdraw their confidence from him nor suffer his name to be cast out as evil.

Mr. Speaker, it fell to the lot of the distinguished subject of these memorial services to spend a great portion of his manhood upon the stormy theater of political life. He met its perils, faced its antagonisms, bore its criticisms, engaged in its conflicts, and retired from the long-fought and well-fought field with no stain on his name and no reproach on his memory. More fortunate than many others, the tongue of slander never assailed his honor or impeached his reputation even in the fierce and bitter struggles of partisan warfare. He was born in Williamson County, Tennessee, in the year 1809. When he was only twelve years of age his parents removed to the State of Alabama. As Tennessee gave him to Alabama, it is not inappropriate that the voice of the mother should mingle in the solemn ceremonies in honor of his memory and feel a portion of the pride with which his adopted State must ever cherish his fame. At the early age of twenty-three years he was elected a member of the Legislature, the year after he was licensed to practice law.

In 1834 he removed to Limestone County, Alabama, to prac-

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tice his profession. In 1837 he was elected solicitor of his district, which position he continued to hold until he was elected to Congress in 1841. He served his district in Congress for eighteen years, with an interval of only one term, when he voluntarily declined to be a candidate. Though often opposed by men of ability in his district, and engaging in warm and animated contests, he was never defeated before the people. His congressional career is a part of the history of the country. He was for several terms chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, at a time when that leading committee of the House of Representatives, in addition to its other important and onerous duties, was charged with the responsibility of preparing the appropriation bills. His distinguished services at the head of this committee of the House, which numbered among its members at that time many eminent men, stamps him as a man of no ordinary attainments and ability. It may be safely said that no man at that time exerted a greater influence over the legislation of the House than GEORGE S. HOUSTON. He may not have possessed, in as high a degree as some others, those dazzling and brilliant qualities which readily captivate the public mind, but in soundness of judgment, in political wisdom, in thorough comprehension of the subjects of legislation, in strength of will, firmness of purpose, indomitable energy, and patient, laborious, and conscientious discharge of duty, he stood, and deserved to stand, in the front rank.

He may not have had what is popularly called genius, whatever that is, but he had in an eminent degree what Buffon, the great naturalist, denominated genius—patience. His long and useful career in the national councils is a monument to his ability as a statesman and his integrity as a man. When his State determined to withdraw from the Union, he resigned his

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position as a member of this House, and went home to share the fortunes, good or ill, of the people who had honored and trusted him, although in the presidential campaign of 1860 he had opposed secession and supported Stephen A. Douglas for President. I care not to pause or comment upon the course he saw fit to take in this great and trying emergency when Alabama decided to sever her connection with the national Union. Suffice it to say, he was incapable of taking any step which to him did not seem dictated by duty and sanctioned by honor. I leave his action and his motives, together with the actions and motives of others, who, under like circumstances, pursued a similar course, to the calm judgment of just men, whose applause or censure is alone worthy of being prized or deprecated.

Soon after the war Mr. HOUSTON was elected to the United States Senate from Alabama, but was not allowed to take the seat to which he was elected. Though deprived of the honor of representing his State in the Senate, there was one thing of which those who denied him his seat could not deprive him, and that was the consciousness that Alabama considered him worthy of the high honor and conferred it upon him. In 1874 he was elected governor, and was again elected to the same position in 1876. During his term of service as governor, the difficult problem of a State debt, with which so many of the wasted States of the South had to struggle since the war, came up for solution. I remember to have had a conversation with Governor HOUSTON on the subject of the debt of his State. Every instinct and impulse of his nature rose in rebellion at the idea that Alabama should incur the odium of repudiation. Under his wise, patriotic, and judicious guidance the debt was adjusted upon terms satisfactory to the State and her creditors and honorable to both. He led Alabama through this ordeal

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safely, and had the proud satisfaction of seeing the State he loved so well and for which he had labored so faithfully stand without a stain upon her escutcheon or a cloud upon her title to honorable recognition among her sister Commonwealths.

As honorable, faithful, and distinguished as were his services in the national councils before the war, his labors and influence after the great struggle had closed, in readjusting Alabama to the new order of things and the changed condition of affairs must ever form the brightest chapter in the history of his long and successful public life. The services and counsels of such a man at such a time cannot be well overestimated. The State acknowledged and appreciated his services in her behalf. At the close of his gubernatorial term he was again elected to the Senate of the United States, and took his seat in that body on the 4th day of March, 1879. But he was not long permitted to wear this crowning honor of his people and his State. On the 31st of December, 1879, the venerable statesman was gathered to his fathers. He was followed to the grave by the people whose trust he had never betrayed, whose honor he had never compromised, whose cause he had never deserted, and whose confidence and affection he had proudly worn as his crown of glory. Surely, if anything can adequately compensate a man for passing through the strife and turmoil and bitterness and unrest of political life, Senator HOUSTON had cause to be content with his lot. He now sleeps beyond the reach of praise or censure, but his fame is in the custody of those who will guard it well. When, in the coming years, Alabama, like another Old Mortality, shall make her solemn rounds to rechisel the fading names of her distinguished dead upon the marble that guards their sleeping dust, she will pause at the grave of GEORGE S. HOUSTON,

To bless the turf that wraps his clay.

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Upon her roll of honor she will point to the name of no other son with fonder pride; for no other son of hers has ever given her greater cause to cherish his memory and to revere his name.

Address of Mr. Cox, of New York.

Mr. SPEAKER, one of the compensations for death is the belief that, when it comes, the errors of our life will be buried with the mortal body, and the eccentricities of our human nature be rounded into a shining orbit of charity. Who would speak of the dead save in the phrases of loving kindness? Rarely have I felt that a word of mine in their eulogy could do adequate justice to the merits of deceased friends. But when manly men, like Stephen A. Douglas, Michael C. Kerr, and GEORGE S. HOUSTON fall here in the sphere of duty, and when their characters present so much to praise, I have overcome my reluctance and entered upon the threshold of the unseen world with the unreserve of enthusiasm.

If excuse were needed for taking part in this ceremony, is it not enough that I knew Governor HOUSTON during a part of his early service here more than a score of years ago? I knew him, to respect his talents and love his character. His kindness to young members was remarked by my colleague, and this is why my recollection of him is embalmed so sweetly now. Indeed, as early as the Thirty-fourth Congress, in 1854, I had remarked him towering as a conspicuous figure in yonder old hall, commanding the attention and consummating the work of this House. In the Thirty-fifth and Thirty-sixth Congresses we sat together upon this side of the Chamber. Here his practical mind and generous qualities gave him pre-eminence. He was prominent in debate, not merely because of his readiness

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and fullness in details and his knowledge of parliamentary methods, but for his large views and patriotic sentiments.

That he was thus accoutered for duty was owing to his great experience in public affairs, his influence among men, his courageous and charitable opinions of his fellows, and his ready familiarity with the structure and essence of our Government and its complicated and refined polity. This experience was gained by close attention to his duties in every province where he was called, and to the maturity and reliability of his judgment, and to his prophetic insight into the needs of his Commonwealth and the country.

Forty years ago he lifted his voice here for frugality and honesty. As chairman of the Ways and Means he allowed no prodigality to give meretricious splendor to the Federal system. To him squandering was almost crime. I never recall his services in those Congresses before the war that I do not associate with him two other statesmen, George W. Jones, of Tennessee, and John Letcher, of Virginia, whose aims and efforts should be forever a living pattern.

His first elaborate effort in the Twenty-seventh Congress was for the restraint of legislation here within the narrowest limits and against implied powers. He would leave all legislation to the States "over subjects where they could as amply and beneficially legislate as Congress." This was the key-note of all his service. As early as 1842 he ably contested the power of Congress over elections, holding them to be aloof from Federal supervision. He was not only a strict economist, but jealous and denunciatory of the Senate on money bills. That body, he thought, should defer to the House, the immediate representatives of the people, but if they did not, he was for appealing to the people.

He was a bold denouncer of tariff tyranny, as his speech in

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1844 shows. His wisdom as to the public lands was often evinced in the early period of his service, for he held our lands to be a trust for the people, and not for speculative greed.

During these years, Texas annexation and the Oregon boundary were leading themes. I need not say upon which side this courageous statesman stood. His Oregon speech, and indeed all of his elaborate speeches, are remarkable for exhaustive research, perspicuity, defiance, and patriotism. Perhaps the best element of his character was his fearlessness and self-abnegation. In a speech against the general internal improvement system, on the 26th of May, 1846, he avowed his opposition to the appropriation for his own Tennessee River, and especially when associated with streams less consequential. Though the river rán between States and through States—navigable but for obstructions for eight hundred miles, washing seven of the leading agricultural and planting States, and a link between the Atlantic, the West, and the Gulf—still he would not countenance the system which took unequally from one portion of the country to give to another. He would have equal exactions and equal favors or none. He thus defied the wishes of his people, exclaiming: "I value too highly the little character I have earned in the public service to forfeit it for office or by corrupt bargains."

This independence was rewarded, for his constituents saw in it the best type of a trustworthy representative.

Whether in scrutinizing the expenses of our Army and requiring accountability for the least item, or arguing against subsidies to the Collins steamers as fraught with partiality and unjust to fair and free trade; whether defending the privileges of the House or vindicating the supremacy of the treaty-making power, he brought to the debate pithy sentences and linked logic, now and then relieved by flashes of

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facetiæ and all subordinated to a sense of honor, justice, and patriotism.

When, on the 16th of February, 1853, his Committee of Ways and Means and that Congress were criticised as not being comparable to earlier committees and Congresses, he defended their assiduity and economy, and, rising into an eloquent panegyric of the great and good men who once adorned the House, and referring to the mutations which time had wrought, he softened acrimony into praise, by saying:

> Truly, Mr. Chairman, changes have taken place. In that the gentleman and myself are perfectly agreed. But, sir, changes are inevitable, and it is not for us to complain of the decrees of fate or of evils over which we have no control. We must make the best we can of our present condition, while our hopes, our aspirations, and our efforts should be directed to the amelioration of the ills that surround us and the removal of the obstacles that lie in the way of our usefulness. Such is the teaching of philosophy, such the dictate of justice.

The changes which he then described have been more remarkable since. Death has been busy with those who belonged to that Thirty-fifth Congress in which we first met. Their roll is lessening year by year. It was the first Congress in which I served. The old Hall and its members, by some natural law of memory, rise before me with photographic vividness and with more dramatic interest than even later Congresses, in this new Chamber. It was during that Congress, on the 17th of December, 1857, that we migrated to this Hall. I recall the solemn prayer of our Chaplain, Rev. Mr. Caruthers, "that it should be made a temple of honor, patriotism, and purity." That scene is the more graphically pictured in memory, as upon that day it was my fortune, good or ill, to make the first speech in this Hall. In that spectacle no form stands out in bolder relief than that of GEORGE S. HOUSTON. How changed, all; and what changes—both in the *personnel* of the House, the

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subjects discussed, and the fierce passions which then raged here as the premonition of other conflicts! Ah, sir, our present politics are but a summer's sea, calm and serene; then it was a frenzied tumult. The wild passions of that time developed the peculiar characteristics of every member. Not more distinct and individual were they than the trees of the forest; and in no one among them is there found so fit an emblem of the tough fiber and gnarled nature of GEORGE S. HOUSTON as in the oak.

What a galaxy of varied and lustrous attributes shone in that assemblage: the Washburnes, Banks, Thayer, Bishop, General Sickles, John Kelly, Haskins, Corning, and Spinner, of New York; E. Joy Morris, Bocock, Governor Smith, and Faulkner, of Virginia; Sherman, Giddings, Bingham, and Groesbeck, of Ohio; Whiteley, Humphrey Marshall, Samuel S. Marshall, Farnsworth, and Maynard, of Tennessee; Niblack, English, and Colfax, of Indiana; Craig, Clark, and Phelps, of Missouri; Curtis, of Iowa, and Lane, of Oregon. These survive and have filled honorable stations, while such men as Mr. Speaker Orr, Quitman, Florence, Hickman, Owen Jones, Glancy Jones, Covode, Montgomery, Leiter, Tompkins, Miller, Stanton, Stewart, Henry Winter Davis, John G. Davis, Harlan, Bowie, Millson, Burlingame, Nicholls, Caskie, Gilmer, Stalworth, Shorter, Eustis, Burnett, Clay, Hughes, Petit, Lovejoy, Harris, Caruthers, Hawkins, Ready, Goode, Hopkins, Burton Craig, McQueen, Seward, Dowdell, Elliott, Peyton, Underwood, Jewett, Warren, and other stars, differing in glory, but now shining in other spheres! But why, sir, extend this roll of death? One-half of that Congress have crossed the silent river to the viewless realm. The great issues they debated are settled by the stern wager of battle, and their contentions ended in that "other country beyond the sun."

Five beside myself remain to illustrate the vicissitudes of

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political and mortal life; the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. STEPHENS], from Mississippi [Mr. SINGLETON], from Texas [Mr. REAGAN], from Tennessee [Mr. ATKINS], and from North Carolina [Mr. SCALES]. A few have been transferred to the other branch of Congress; Senators LAMAR, PENDLETON, MORRILL, and DAWES. Some fell bravely in the fierce encounter to vindicate their thought: Branch, Barksdale, Keitt, Jenkins, Zollicoffer, Moore, Ruffin, Garnett, Shaw, and others; while of those who fought them, Curtis, Cockerill, Blair, and others survived the war only to die where affection administered its last offices. The vernal season which is bathing the land in sunlight, and making the melody of birds in the woods; which is warming into new life the beauty of the flower and the splendor of the grass, is weaving its garlands over hillocks where their remains repose. It teaches by its analogy the resurrection and the life of our human bodies. It scatters its flood of floral promise, and bends its iris of hope over the living and the dead, dyed in all the hues of a sunlit heaven, as the covenant of God with man, of our immortality. Amid these changes, I cannot refrain from reflecting that I am left alone here as the surviving member of that Thirty-fifth Congress from the North, while from the South there remain but the five I have named of that splendid group who challenged the admiration of their opponents by the gifts of eloquence with which they championed and adorned their cause.

Of this number GEORGE S. HOUSTON, while he was one of the leaders, if not the leader, of legislation, was not one of that galaxy of orators who "graced the noble fervor of the hour" by urging the disparting of our States.

If southern association could have made GEORGE S. HOUSTON a devotee of the peculiar tenets which found their final issue in force, he would have been such a devotee. Born in

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the State of Tennessee, so prolific of statesmen of heroic mold and civic qualities, deriving his early lineage from Ireland, and on his mother's side his lineage from South Carolina, educated for the law in the State of Kentucky, he sought the fresh and attractive field of Alabama in the morning of his career. After honoring his profession in offices wherein his legal abilities were displayed, within a decade after his removal to Alabama he was elected to the Federal Congress. He served his State here from 1841 to 1847, when he retired to resume his profession. The stirring events of 1850–'51, growing out of perilous sectional questions, again called him to the front. Here he remained as the faithful trustee of his people until his State seceded.

He retired with sorrowful heart and brimming eye to his home, for he saw with the prescience of a statesman the terrible eventualities of the conflict which he always deprecated.

While the red storm of war raged around his home, he remained, like many other men equally chivalric, a sad spectator in the conflicts of force.

When the war ended, and failing then to secure in 1865 and 1866 a seat in the Senate to which he was elected, his people, in 1874, sought for him, their first citizen, as the head of the State. He was made their governor, and began the work of building up the waste places which the desolation of war had made. He made a highway for the people; and, lifting his voice above the ruin and distress around him, he began the work of construction with that sagacious adaptation of means to end which is the distinguishing feature of genuine statesmanship.

In seeking for the pivotal characteristic of this representative man, it is to the honor of his nature that it is not found in the desire to destroy. There is in every human heart some

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controlling thought—the end-all and be-all of exertion. It is that mysterious and magic inspiration which exalts the daily work of life into a daily beauty. It evokes out the unreal, reality. It is the aura which sustains the intellectual and moral nature, giving it stamina and energy, as the atmosphere sustains our physical existence. It directs the aimless and erratic meanderings of the mind into fruitful, smooth, and healthful currents. It creates the loftier life, and in death it inspires loving hands to weave chaplets for the tomb of the departed.

The genius of this statesman's life is found as well in his reticence and retiracy, when the havoc of war menaced and ruined his State, as in the vigor with which, when that havoc was over and its *débris* lay around him in orderless despair, he removed the charred framework and began to replace it with happy homes and good rule for a contented people. To him more than to any other man in Alabama that State owes its resurrection. He rolled away the stone from its sepulcher, and, like the good angel, guarded its door. Amidst all the perils of surf and sunken rock the warning voice of Governor HOUSTON had here spoken peace and good-will for the tranquillity of the whole land and its indestructible unity. It had spoken in vain. His State was launched on the tide of war. She enlisted one hundred and twenty-two thousand of her sons in the Confederate army; one-fourth of them fell fighting for the southern cause. Everywhere, in field and village, city and country, there was devastation. Even after the war, misgovernment and maladministration added their cruelties and burdens to the desolating effects of the war. But these, which were discouragements for others, were to him incentive and ambition. His genius for rebuilding uprose with the dire emergency. It is said of Alabama, after it was traversed by

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the Spanish army under De Soto, more than three centuries ago, seeking for gold and in the search drenching it in blood, "that the dark curtain that had covered her territory was suddenly lifted, a brilliant but bloody panorama passed across the stage, and then all was shrouded in primeval darkness." This *chiaro oscuro* of the historic Rembrandt but faintly portrays the dark shadows which rested upon the Alabama of 1865–'66. But the picture did not appal the stanch heart of GEORGE S. HOUSTON. He manfully began to wash out the stains of blood; he desired to "scatter plenty o'er a smiling land"; he pleaded for reconciliation, and by his efforts and under his magic the spears of grain burst into gold and the cotton-pod into snow. While by his wise policy he elevated the credit of his State and saved it from insolvency and debt, he helped to open his wonderful State and its opulent resources of mine and plantation to the light, which has since given to its people encouragement, good government, and renewed prosperity.

The magic by which he controlled affairs was not altogether his knowledge and experience. His nature was not devoid of ready sympathies, and even poetic sentiment, though he seldom revealed himself in this relation. But it could not be otherwise with one nerved by the pure air and pleasant sun of Alabama. He represented no dreamy sentimentality and no impractical abstractions; for that portion of Alabama to which he was accustomed has not the soft local coloring like that which interpenetrates the magnolia-laden air on the margin of the Mexican sea. There the breath, shine, and flora of spring glorify even the midwinter. Living within the crescent which the majestic Tennessee makes as it bends through the upper region of Alabama, his mind took from its scenery something of that rugged cast which the soft allurements of the farther

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South did not mitigate or temper. There runs through his life, like the ridge of iron through the heart of his State, virile virtues of unbending and inexorable honesty. But with all this he was pervious to the influences of sentiment, and his life was free from the vices and stains of passion. The mountains and streams of his State—the early adventures arising out of Spanish, French, American, and Indian conflicts; the romantic legends of his State, woven into a web of witchery by the indigenous poetry of the South—its prehistoric mounds and historic memories; its constellation of honored names, such as the Kings, Lipscombs, Gaineses, Toulmins, McKinleys, Moores, Crabbs, Lewises, Clemenses, Yanceys, Bibbs, Pickenses, Fitzpatricks, Carrolls, Clays, Elmores, Forsyths, Walkers, Hilliards, Pughs, Shorters, and Currys in the State, and the Evanses, Baldwins, Meaks, and Hodgsons in the republic of letters, honored as well in other States as in Alabama—these were a part of his local pride and literary amenity.

My honored friend [Mr. FORNEY] has drawn a picture of the landscape around his home, and adorned it by a stanza from one of the cantos of a favorite southern poem descriptive of the beautiful valley of the Tennessee. It was impossible with such ennobling examples of superior men, and with such a physical surrounding, with its jeweled islands set in flowing waters, and with its mountains like giant sentinels

To guard its pictured valley's rest,

that the imagination even of one so practical in the daily routine of professional and legislative life should not have partaken something of the quality of this splendid land, and of the attributes of its noble men.

Mr. Speaker, there is no sweeter word in any tongue than Alabama! Most musical in its tone, it echoes its legendary

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meaning. Among the many fanciful stories connected with this State of legends is that which is engraved upon its escutcheon above us. It is said that a tribe of Indians, flying from their enemies, reached a splendid river. There a chief struck his weapon into the soil, exclaiming, "Alabama!" "*Here we rest.*" Who is there so practical that he would depoetize this incident by questioning its authenticity? The very sky and scenery of Alabama, with its dreamy loveliness, seem to give it reality. "*Here we rest!*" Ah, sir, he who did so much to assuage the unrest which the passions and ambition of men created; he who accomplished so much and so magically by his word and work, has now found within its bosom that rest which his busy life did not bestow. He who lived no cloistered life, whose active thoughts and unblemished fame gave their sweet effluence to guard and restore the homes of his State, measured the circle of his own felicity in contributing to that of his people. The murmur of the rivers which flow through his beloved Alabama, and the lapse of the waves which fall upon its southern shores, break in melancholy cadences to sing and sigh his requiem, and lift their voices in praise of him who after doing so much at last rests from his labors amidst the sympathy and sorrow of his bereaved countrymen. Every home and heart from the stately Tennessee to the beautiful Mobile Bay contribute to

> Shed a beauty round his name—
> A light that like a star will beam,
> Lustrous and large—a golden glory
> Adown the Future's gliding stream,
> To gild his country's morning story!

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Address of Mr. ATKINS, of Tennessee.

Mr. SPEAKER, my long and somewhat intimate personal acquaintance with the late Senator HOUSTON, and the well-known high esteem in which I held his character, will account for the request with which I am honored by his colleagues to participate in the mournful services of this memorial occasion. After what has been already so well said, by more than one speaker, of his life and services, it would seem superfluous for me to make further allusion to them, except as an illustration of his character. I may be pardoned, therefore, for referring very briefly to his public services, and especially during the period it fell under my own eyes. When I first entered this Hall as a member, now nearly a quarter of a century ago, the name of GEORGE S. HOUSTON stood upon the roll as the acknowledged leader of the House of Representatives. At this particular period he was chairman of the Judiciary Committee, having, however, previously served four years as chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means. These posts of honor had been accorded to him by common consent on account of his long, able, faithful and patriotic services as a Representative from the State of Alabama—serving at that time his eighth term, and he was afterward re-elected to his ninth term, making eighteen years in Congress.

Reared in the Jeffersonian school of American politics, as illustrated and administered by the illustrious sage of the Hermitage, it was natural that he should range himself beside President Polk and ably and efficiently sustain his administration, which sealed to this country a magnificent empire whose agricultural value and marvelous mineral wealth exceeds the approximation even of an estimate.

At a later day, in 1850, when sectional animosities became

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so intense and bitter as to alarm the just fears of the patriots of the whole country, and ended in calling forth the most important and the last efforts of the great American Commoner for the pacification of the sections and parties, once more healing the wounds upon the body-politic which sectional agitation had inflicted, the faithful historian of that eventful epoch in American annals will find the name of him whose memory we this day embalm in our heart of hearts as one of the strong, active, efficient, and prompt supporters of the compromise measures of Mr. Clay, which saved these States from the fratricidal war which fate had decreed only a decade later.

As chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, Mr. HOUSTON, by virtue of the duties and prerogatives of his position, stood at the head of that power which performed the dual service of pointing out the sources of the government's revenues and at the same time preparing and submitting to the House of Representatives the annual budget of expenditures. How he succeeded let the pages of those annals speak to the millions who have examined and will hereafter examine them. With a country as large then as it is now (excepting Alaska), such was the rigid economy and honest simplicity with which the affairs of the General Government were then conducted that he was enabled to fall as low as $52,000,000 per annum for the net ordinary expenditures of this nation. But it required ceaseless vigilance and unremitting toil, coupled with an honest and courageous firmness in defense of the public Treasury against the horde who were then as they are ever ready, like vultures, to prey upon it, to keep within the limits of such practical economy. I recall among others of that period the names of three distinguished men (two of whom were mentioned by my distinguished friend Mr. COX) now living, but long since voluntarily retired to

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private life, who were the associates, friends, and active supporters of HOUSTON and his frugal policy. To one familiar with that period I need not mention the names of George W. Jones, of Tennessee; John Letcher, of Virginia, and John S. Phelps, of Missouri. Whatever bill of expenditures went through Congress passed beneath the searching gaze of their watchful eyes, and was doubtless necessary to the pulic weal.

No measure of doubtful constitutionality or expediency eluded their untiring vigils. In this guardianship of the public Treasury Mr. HOUSTON stood forth as the worthy and accepted leader.

I shall not refer further to his public service, for that has been already more worthily treated than I could hope to do. I will add a word as to some of the more prominent traits of his character as seen by me, perhaps through the lens of personal friendship too partial to be accurate. And although it is only the omniscient eye of God that can penetrate the secret chamber of the human heart and read the thoughts and feelings of men, nevertheless the lifetime actions of men may be reasonably accepted as the true *indicia* of their characters. Tried by this rule, GEORGE S. HOUSTON was an honest man. Truly he could say:

> I know myself now, and I feel within me
> A peace above all earthly dignities,
> A still and quiet conscience.

Throughout his career of three-score years and ten, whether in the private or public walks of life, he never practiced fraud or deception upon any one. On all questions which rose to the dignity of an issue he always, after investigation, promptly and fearlessly maintained his convictions. He was careful never to disappoint just expectations, whether of his constituency, his friends, or of his enemies. He placed great stress

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upon accuracy; indeed he may have seemed at times a little hypercritical, so much was he opposed to loose and extravagant statements and semi-misrepresentations. This trait dominating his character, he was perforce an ardent devotee at the shrine of that noblest of virtues, sacred truth. If he ever seemed censorious or controversial, it was because he was unwilling in the least to tolerate dissimulation. Hence his statements of facts, being thoroughly accurate and rigidly true, always gained an easy lodgment before the people or the jury, the court, or at the forum of his country's councils. His sense of justice was well-nigh as sensitive as his love of truth. He had such reverence for this grand old virtue that he could hold up the scales wherein should be weighed the rights of a friend and an enemy and give a decision supported by the logic of common sense and inexorable right that would hush every dissentient note. So even balanced were these faculties and principles of his mind and the sensibilities of his heart, it is not strange that he was conservative.

Excesses of all kinds he avoided, and always stopped before he reached extreme ends. Harsh or violent measures he ever regarded as the offspring of passion and empiricism, and not of judgment and philosophy. Taken altogether, while it will not be claimed for him that he was the equal in ability and renown to a very few names of American statesmen, yet impartial history will place the honored name of Senator HOUSTON high upon the monumental shaft of immortal names that shall defy the corroding tooth of Time to efface and shall stand unmoved by the shock of Oblivion's waves as they lash against its granite base. But Tennessee, his mother, and Alabama, his foster-mother, claiming him as the pride of their hearts, will not be permitted to appropriate the worth of his character and the value of his example alone to themselves. The sister-

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hood of this great Union of States claims him, too, as her son, and to-day holds him up before the millions of our people as a shining light to guide the footsteps of American statesmanship and American manhood.

> Statesman, yet friend to truth, of soul sincere,
> Of action faithful, and in honor clear;
> Who broke no promise, served no private end;
> Who gained no title, and who lost no friend;
> Ennobled by himself, by all approved,
> Praised, wept, and honored by the land he loved.

Address of Mr. SHELLEY, of Alabama.

Mr. SPEAKER, a long and active public life affords great opportunities and facilities for the development of native talent and the acquirement of a high order of statesmanship, and promotes the highest standard of patriotism. In a country like ours, where the humblest citizen may aspire to the most exalted station, where the places of honor and trust are open to the competition of all, it is rarely the case that any man is permitted to enjoy continuously, for any considerable period of time, the preference of his countrymen. When it does occur, the person so preferred must have developed superior wisdom and fitness for the duties and responsibilities of public station.

Very few men in this country who entered public service in early manhood have made such an impression upon the public mind and heart as to enable them to be thus honored throughout a long life; but conspicuous among these few was the late GEORGE S. HOUSTON, whose life and public services, in conformity to a beautiful and time-honored custom of Congress, we are here to commemorate.

Years ago Senator HOUSTON was called from the pursuits of private life to represent his people in the Legislature of Ala-

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bama, since which time, with the exception of short intervals, his services have been devoted to his country, closing his career in the Senate of the United States, full of years and full of honors.

Senator HOUSTON was not distinguished for the brilliancy of his talents or the grandeur of his conceptions. He did not acquire his influence or achieve his success through the inspirations of genius or by the sheer force of intellectual power. He did not control or sway men by the magnetic influence of superior declamation or force of logic. He was not gifted with the power of originating new and grand measures of public policy, nor did he waste his time on undeveloped theories of political economy, but he possessed the wisdom of prudence and the virtue of patient, untiring industry, which gave him an influence over men and brought him success. He was powerful, though not brilliant—powerful because he loved his country and his people; powerful because he was honest and upright; powerful because he was practical, cautious, and deliberate; powerful because he combined a high order of common sense with great goodness of heart, guided by an honest desire to promote his country's welfare. To his good sense he added industry; to his industry, honesty; to his honesty, prudence; to his prudence, patience; and to patience, energy and perseverance. Possessing all these elements of usefulness, stimulated by a lofty and patriotic ambition, he deserved the success he attained, for he was great in his goodness, and good in his greatness.

Years of faithful, earnest devotion to their welfare and interests have enshrined him in the hearts of the people of Alabama, and, though dead, his memory and good deeds will live on forever. It is good to dwell upon the lives of such men. They are full of instruction. They teach us the arts of useful-

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ness, and point the way to honor and success. They stimulate the progress of civilization and leave the impress of their virtues on every page of the country's history.

We are often shocked by the sudden and untimely death of friends who are cut down in the full vigor of manhood, in the very midst of a career of usefulness. Such deaths always give us pain, and we feel that for them the ends and aims of life have been thwarted. But in contemplating the life and career of Senator HOUSTON, while we mourn his loss, we feel that he has fulfilled his destiny, finished his work, and gone to receive his reward—a reward higher and nobler than peoples or potentates or powers can bestow for a well-spent life.

Address of Mr. SAMFORD, of Alabama.

Mr. SPEAKER, as the old year was dying its setting sun lighted to the tomb a great and good man in Alabama, for on its last day, as though to gild the galaxy of its dead, GEORGE S. HOUSTON at his home in Athens, surrounded by weeping family and devoted friends, after a long life of eventful activity and usefulness, "fell asleep."

For nearly half a century, with short intervals, he served his people in official station and was faithful in every public trust. Many years he served in this House and enjoyed as the head, respectively, of the Committee on Military Affairs, Ways and Means, and Judiciary, an honor rarely, if ever, accorded to any other Representative; and while it would be unjust to others to say of him,

> Among the faithless, faithful only he,

yet it does no man wrong to place him in the foremost rank of laborious, upright, painstaking, and honest statesmen.

> If the tongues of dying men,
> Enforce attention like deep harmony,

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with what *devotion* ought we to listen to the lessons of sages and patriots whose "tongues are now stringless instruments," and whom God has endowed with power to speak for themselves and for us, and to us, and who will speak to the ages with

A golden drift thro' all the song.

It is Hawthorne who says that "to take in the meaning of a picture you must be alone with it." The lives of great and good men are never properly comprehended until we contemplate them in the solitude of the *grave-yard*, to which they seem to invite us as to a grand moral gymnasium, and propound to us and to posterity the sublime lessons of glorious living and noble dying. It is here, as "into a high mountain apart," lifted above the consuming cares and petty strifes of life, away from the babbling voices of a selfish world, that we see humanity transfigured from mortal coil to the shining vestments of a higher life.

There are two considerations, Mr. Speaker, appropriate to such an occasion as this. The first relates to the *inherent elements* of a great and good character like that of our departed friend. The second regards that character in its *totality*, in its motives, its intelligent and skillful conduct and beneficent achievements in the affairs of men, the history of its activities in practical life, which illuminates and exalts it into an example for our admiration and emulation.

Both in the analysis of the character of Senator HOUSTON and in the history of his distinguished public services, we find considerations to reconcile us to the labors of life; in view of the transcendent rewards of virtue, to exalt our hopes of usefulness, to encourage aspirations for honest fame, to animate patriotic devotion to the liberties, prosperity, and glory of our country.

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I will not violate the proprieties of the occasion by uttering all I feel; but standing here to mouth an unmeaning eulogy as a part of merely formal and empty ceremonial of conventional respect would violate the sanctity of that friendship which existed between him and myself, of which I hope to retain until I die the gentlest memory and most thorough appreciation.

No man who knew him can doubt that it may be as truly said of him as of Augustus Tholuck, that he was "without pretense or cant." No man standing at his grave will deny that his whole life evinced an heroic love of truth. This devotion to truth logically induced frankness, independence, and courage. These are the glorious, cognate virtues which blossom on that heavenly-born tree of life, and mature fruit more precious than any which ever graced the garden of the Hesperides or grew in the hanging gardens of Babylon. It was in perfect harmony with these virtues that in all the relations of life he was charitable as he was frank; conservative as he was independent, and conciliatory as he was courageous. No impatient zeal ever betrayed his counsels into rashness; the storm of passion never dashed his vessel upon the rocks of inhospitable shores.

An honest partisan, he allowed no prejudices to cloud his vision or mar his policy where his country was concerned.

I leave to older men to recount the conflicts and triumphs of Mr. HOUSTON'S earlier career. From the beginning he was a man of the people, and was always willing to leave his cause with them. The confidence with which he appealed to them, and the enthusiasm which ever greeted such an appeal, caused some men to thoughtlessly call him a demagogue. In a literal and noble sense, that he was a demagogue is true; that he was such in the unholy and ignoble popular acceptation, I absolutely deny.

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He was affable and polite to the humblest citizen—all gentlemen are. He was gentle toward the weakness and sympathized with the misfortunes of others—a generous nature required this. He was particularly regardful of the feelings of men in lowly station—an infallible mark of greatness. He recognized the existence of as royal virtue and noble worth among men and women striving in the humbler spheres of life as could be found in the gilded *salons* of those who wrought in the "high stations of renown," and he was man enough to declare it. He was considerate of the opinions of his fellow-citizens, always and forever battled for their rights in high places, as he ought to have done, and deferred to the people as the sovereign power in the land. If these things constitute a demagogue, then he was one, and I honor him for it.

While for many years a Representative in this House, in the blaze of society, in the whirlwind and noise of political strifes and personal ambitions, he preserved the simplicity of manners and purity of morals which brought the satisfying experiences of a rustic Mantuan life—as little joining in the frivolous dissipation of social excesses, in the vain world's chorus of applause at the petty pursuits and empty triumphs of little men, as did old Elijah in the guilty vanities of Ahab's court.

It was during this time of his service here as a distinguished democratic leader that, in returning to his constituents, in the full consciousness of his rectitude and the honest pride of his cordial appreciation, he was facetiously said "to shake hands with them by the acre."

Mr. Speaker, among the great men of that day GEORGE S. HOUSTON was every inch a peer. Benjamin Fitzpatrick was then a Senator from Alabama, a consummately wise party tactician, a liberal statesman, and an expert manager of men,

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yet he relied very implicitly upon the sympathy, advice, and co-operation of this born tribune of the people. In his victorious campaigns in North Alabama he won and proudly wore the appropriate *soubriquet* of "the Bald Eagle of the Mountains," and eagle he was! His eyrie was on the loftiest peak, the very Caucasus of these mountains, and his scream was heard through all their democratic fastnesses. There is a royal decoration which William of Prussia sometimes sent to illustrious Germans in their age and failing strength known as the "Star of the Order of the Red Eagle." Senator HOUSTON'S election by the people of Alabama to the Senate was a more brilliant decoration of a grander order, that of the "Bald Eagle of the Mountains." The difference is that between the favoritism of kings and the loving, grateful reverence of a free people. My personal acquaintance with him began some time before his first term as chief magistrate of Alabama. That acquaintance was from its first inception a friendship such as might subsist between an aged and venerable teacher and a young, ardent disciple of that school of politics founded by Thomas Jefferson.

I had many occasions of seeing him during his most able and successful administration of that high office to which he had been elevated at a critical period in the history of that State, of all the Southern States—of all the States of this Union. He was always calm, conservative, collected, and confident in his powers and resources; unshaken in whatever complications or emergencies might surround him. He was a zealous and thorough reformer of the evils, financial abuses, and of all the vicious courses in political and social life brought upon the State by the extravagance, reckless corruptions, and proscriptive, pragmatical tempers, of that system of malice and misgovernment which not only overthrew the rights and liber-

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ties of the people, but sapped the foundations of their material prosperity and social life—a system of oppression, terrorism, peculation, insolence, and irresponsibility without a parallel in this or any other civilized age.

His economy was exemplary alike in its far-reaching and intelligent methods, and its sound political and moral theory. Although far advanced in years, his industry was untiring—quite above the standard measure of official respectability, efficiency, and responsibility. His intelligence was equal to the demands of his convictions, to his firmness, his reformatory methods, his economy, and his signal industry.

His courage and impartiality brought the dignity of his office up to the ancient, which was his own high standard of purity and efficiency. His healing hand was felt on every wound which afflicted the body-politic. His sustaining official presence pervaded alike the halls of learning, the thoroughfares and palaces of commerce, and the humblest homes of our agricultural country people. He was such a man and such an officer as old Tacitus would have delighted to set in a historic frame as a companion-piece for his Agricola; a man whom Plutarch, with his life before him, would have honored with a seat in his historic temple between his Camillus and his Cato.

At the close of his administration, so great was his popularity that although his day was well nigh spent, and he was opposed as a candidate for a seat in the Senate by some of the most intellectual and influential gentlemen of the State, men distinguished in the civil affairs of government and had breasted the fiery tempest and whirlwind of death on the battle-field, gentlemen of a high order of eloquence and attainment who would honor any station in any government in the world—notwithstanding all this, the popular wave bore him triumphantly over every obstacle into the high seat he oc-

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cupied at the time of his death. It may be true that other men more learned, more eloquent, more brilliant, and better adapted by the vigor of unimpaired manhood to the duties of the station, in whose fidelity the people had absolute confidence, contested with him the senatorial palm, but a grateful people would not refuse to crown his labors with the highest honor at their disposal.

His early death was generally anticipated at the time of his election. His sun had careened beyond its zenith. It was fast descending behind the western hills and sinking into the shades of night. It gathered about its pavilion golden clouds, and it was a people's wish that it should pass away from their sight in the purple splendors of a royal procession.

Mr. Speaker, GEORGE S. HOUSTON descended to the grave more grandly "robed like a king" than Charlemagne in his marble tomb, and the people of my State unite with us to day in gracing his memory with this "elegy of words and tears."

He belonged, in a higher and a better than the classic sense, to an heroic age; to that noble band of primitive American patriots who not only founded States but built grand republics, the heavenward spires of whose resounding temples glitter among the stars; such men as have erected Ohio and Illinois, Alabama and Mississippi, and Indiana and Kentucky, and their sister States into great Commonwealths, and launched them with streaming banners upon the tempestuous seas of government, manned by such crews of intelligent freemen as can be found beneath the sun only among their posterities, and freighted with the destinies of all the coming millions of the human race.

What a fitting opportunity—what a patriotic resolve—standing by the grave of one who illustrated the statesmanship of the better days of the great Republic, to bury forever the

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memories—oh, how bitter—of all the past feuds and bloody strifes which have divided, distracted, and in all ways tortured and cursed the land left us by these ancestral heroes! Drawing inspiration from the undefiled patriotism which clusters around the memories springing from "high converse with the mighty dead," for the love of country and for the sake of real union why can we not allow the gaping wounds to heal, and with unity of purpose, unity of hope, and unity of effort march on to the accomplishment of our country's destiny, a grand, united, free Republic?

Mr. Speaker, there is one trait of Senator HOUSTON'S character which unmentioned would leave incomplete any notice of him. Its entire absence would mar the heroism of Luther and detract from St. Paul's sublime manhood. As pre-eminently as any man with whose character I am familiar, GEORGE S. HOUSTON was true to his friends. And when he found a friend whose adoption would stand the test and ordeal of trial, he anchored him to his "soul with hooks of steel." On this subject I speak whereof I know.

But such as he was he has gone from among us. He passed away calmly and quietly, as "the morning star melts away in the sunlight."

He lies as low as Cæsar—no lower than kings and princes—no higher than peasants and paupers. The Great Leveler levels evenly. He lies as low as you and I and all of us shall shortly lie.

Such as he was he has gone; and

> Of such as he was there be few on earth,
> Of such as he was there are many in Heaven,
> And life is all the sweeter that he lived,
> And all he loved more sacred for his sake,
> And death is all the brighter that he died,
> And Heaven is all the brighter that he's there.

Casting "this stone upon this cairn" my task is done.

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Address of Mr. LEWIS, of Alabama.

Mr. SPEAKER, it was not my expectation to be here at this time, and hence I had made no preparation to participate in these ceremonies. But as I am here, and as I represent a large portion of the old district of the deceased Senator, where he was so well known, loved, and honored, I feel that I would be unjust to my constituents and wanting in reverence to the distinguished dead if I should now altogether lay my hands upon my mouth. I must offer some tribute, however humble and feeble, to the memory of our departed friend.

Those who are unacquainted with the deep hold that Senator HOUSTON had upon the affections of the people of Alabama can little conceive how sharp was the pang that ran through our borders on the tidings of his death. He had been their friend, faithful and just to them; and he had served them with a fidelity and an effectiveness unsurpassed; and every household felt that the loss was personal to itself. He was a popular man with the masses, not through any of the arts of the demagogue, for he never fawned or flattered or sacrificed principles to expediency; but because he was of them. His heart beat in sympathy with them. He knew, honored, and trusted them. He was the unfailing representative of their plain, honest ways, of their saving common sense, of their straightforward and manly courage, and of their devotion to the old landmarks and the essential principles of constitutional liberty. He had shared their toils, had known their sorrows, and had partaken of their homely joys and of their warm free hospitality.

> His own life was work, and his language rife
> With rugged maxims hewn from life.

Standing thus on a common ground between him and the

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people; possessed of a mind eminent for its sagacity and practicalness; with a superb physical constitution capable of all endurance; with a heart large, genial, and overflowing with its rich vein of humor; a spirit bold, combative, even aggressive, yet never deserted by his inimitable self-composure; combining the happy power to instruct, illustrate, and amuse, he was the most successful and effective speaker that I have ever seen upon the hustings. Conscious of his thorough knowledge of men, of his varied experience, of his enlarged views, of his ripened intellect, and his familiarity with facts—for like Mr. Fox he thought one fact worth a thousand arguments—he had that confidence which boasteth not itself, but which, as Lord Chatham said, was a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom.

I shall not attempt, Mr. Speaker, to portray his public career. That has already been well done by others.

In the palmy days of this Republic he was the intimate friend of Silas Wright, the trusted adviser of President Polk, and the intimate associate of Mr. Douglas. He was the chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, and for many years the leader of this House; and in the eventful days that followed reconstruction he was the chief oracle of his own State. In that memorable struggle of 1874 for our redemption, as the champion of the people his popularity reconciled all differences, his patriotism won all hearts, his zeal and courage inspired all confidence, his energy overcame all obstacles, and he achieved the greatest peace victory recorded in the annals of our State, the beneficent fruits of which will descend to generations yet unborn.

And, as my friend has said, the people were not ungrateful. They demanded of their immediate representatives that they should show this gratitude by elevating him to that exalted position which he held at the time of his death.

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When the dread summons came which was to gather him to his fathers, although he had passed his three-score years and ten and was surrounded by loving hearts and tended by gentle hands, still the blow was a severe one to my people. We had a sore need of him in these days of modern degeneracy. We fondly hoped that his wisdom, his counsel, and his example would be spared to us for his full term in the Senate.

If the last days which he spent at this Capitol cast a shadow of disappointment over his patriotic soul and made him sigh for the better days of the Republic, let us console ourselves with the thought that he has joined those noble patriots of the past who went before him, and with their sweet companionship can now realize in the light of eternal truth that all the struggles and sacrifices for human liberty have not been in vain.

Address of Mr. HERNDON, of Alabama.

Mr. SPEAKER, the relations which I bore to Senator HOUSTON seem to make it imperative upon me not to remain silent when a tribute is to be paid to his memory.

It was only in the last seven years of his life that I had any personal acquaintance with him, but I have known him as a public man from the time that my attention was first called to the conspicuous characters in the politics of Alabama. No man, save William R. King, late Vice-President of the United States, remained longer and more continuously in public life in Alabama, nor more occupied the attention of the people of that State, than General HOUSTON. In this way his public career became known to me, but I do not propose now to trace it throughout the long period which it covered. This has been, or will be, done by others. I shall attempt only to delineate

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him as he impressed himself upon me, and sketch, as faithfully as my words can, the outlines of his character.

When success throughout a long career attends one in every position, in every aspiration, and in every undertaking, and finally crowns his hopes and his ambitions, the world will concede, must concede, without being able to analyze the causes or comprehend the qualities which secured it, that there must have been in such a man something greater and superior than in other men, which has not only commanded but deserved success. Success, it has been said, is the highest test of merit. No one's career could be more safely submitted to this test than General HOUSTON'S.

From his earliest manhood down to the end of his long life he was the recipient of the people's confidence, and, except when he voluntarily refused, filled offices to which it was in their power to elect him. Never but once defeated, with his young ambition looking upward to one supreme height, he ascended step by step from the lowest rung in the ladder of preferment up to that exalted station in which he closed his mortal course, and from which, in the fullness of his earthly fame, he was translated, we reverently trust, to that Highest Tribunal to receive the well-earned plaudit, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, thou shalt be made ruler over many."

To one who did not thoroughly know Senator HOUSTON it would be difficult to discern the causes which gave to him his unvaried success. He was popular throughout the State, and was almost the idol of the people of the Congressional district in which he lived; and this popularity with the masses scarcely waned or diminished even in the times when the hearts of the people were stirred to their depths and the usual calm of popular feeling was broken into billowy passion by the dreadful

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tempest of civil war. In the fast changing and swift revolving of the minds and thoughts and feelings of the people in those times, passions ebbing and flowing as the tide of the conflict ebbed and flowed, long-worshiped idols were overturned and broken in pieces, trusted oracles silenced or contemned, and leaders were, as by a breath, made and unmade; but amid all this wreck of men General HOUSTON seemed never to have lost the confidence and affection of his people. When the tempest had ceased and the sun once again broke through the clouds which had so enshrouded our Southland, he stood out as formerly, "the people's man," loved as before, and trusted, as he had been for more than twenty years.

The people of the State of Alabama manifested this continued and unabated confidence in General HOUSTON in a most unmistakable manner in the year 1874.

I trust, Mr. Speaker, that I do not offend the proprieties of this occasion by the remarks which I am now about to make. They are made in no partisan or sectional spirit; with no wish to excite unkind feeling, nor to revive memories, here or elsewhere, that may be disagreeable; but only to illustrate the services of Senator HOUSTON, by which he achieved his most enduring fame among the people of Alabama and won their inexpressible gratitude.

From the commencement of the reconstruction of Alabama under the acts of Congress enacted for that purpose up to the year 1874, the State had been in the hands and under the dominion of officials many of whom had but recently been emancipated from bondage, necessarily ignorant and debased, and the mere instruments and puppets of bad and designing men who obtained control of them; and most of the others, these same bad and designing men, who had no home in the State, no kinship or sympathy with her people, no concern for her wel-

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fare, no regard for her good name, no compassion for her desolation, no desire for her peace, who came like vultures ravening for prey and intending to stay only so long as they could glut their insatiate hunger with the flesh and blood of a stricken and helpless people. I shall not recite the ghastly details of the history of those seven years. That history has been written with a pen of fire into the memory of the whole country, and its hot iniquity will never let it be forgotten. Suffice it for this occasion to say that as this incursion of strangers into the offices of the State of Alabama had for its object rapine and plunder, it became necessary that the conditions must be created on which this fell object could most effectually be accomplished. Disorder instead of law must prevail, turbulence instead of peace, discord between the races, and hate instead of harmony and friendship. And as in other States, so in Alabama were these conditions created, and so they did prevail to a great extent for seven years prior to 1874.

In that year, against his wishes, against his earnest remonstrance, GEORGE S. HOUSTON was called from his retirement, nominated by the democratic State convention for governor by acclamation, and elected by the people by a majority of over seventeen thousand votes.

Then began a new era for Alabama. With Governor HOUSTON all the State and county officers were elected, most of whom were in accord with him in political sentiment and who became useful aids to him in the Herculean work of rebuilding and reforming which he was about to undertake. No chief magistrate of a State ever entered upon the discharge of his duties under circumstances more difficult or more appalling. There was chaos in the treasury; chaos in the laws; chaos in the courts; chaos in society; chaos everywhere!

The advent into office of Governor HOUSTON, who had the

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confidence of every class of people in the Commonwealth, for his conservatism, his sagacity, his prudence, and his integrity, was in itself almost magical in its effect. Across the arch of the political heavens like a bow of promise it gave token of an approaching calm, and was hailed as the harbinger of a more auspicious future. All eyes looked to him with the highest hopes and expectations. Had he proven unequal to the great emprise, had he failed, chaos, more chaotic, would have come again. But he did not fail. Disorder was succeeded by the order of well-regulated law; peace reigned where turbulence had raged; and distrust and discord were no longer felt nor heard in the borders of the State. His administration achieved all that it promised or that was hoped for. Wise and beneficent, it was upheld by the good citizens of the State of every party. Social and business confidence was restored, languishing industry was quickened into activity, and prosperity once more began to shed its sunshine upon the fields and the homes of the people.

It can almost be said of Governor HOUSTON, as was said of the great Alexander Hamilton, that he found the treasury a putrid corpse; he touched it, and it became a living soul! When he came into office the debt of Alabama was over $32,000,000, $24,000,000 of which had been created since 1867 by the vicious methods of preceding administrations. When he left it it was less than $10,000,000, with the honor of the State untarnished and its credit restored.

It would be unjust to others, as well as untrue in fact, to ascribe to Governor HOUSTON the entire credit for the adjustment and settlement of the public debt of Alabama. In devising the scheme he was aided by the suggestions and counsel of some of the ablest minds of the State, and in its consummation, so honorable to the State and so satisfactory to her creditors, he

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had the efficient services and co-operation of two of the most skillful financiers and intelligent of his fellow-citizens, his associates in the commission created for that object. I do not mean, therefore, in what I say to detract in the least from the credit to which others are entitled. The glory of the achievement was great enough for them all to share in, and the relief which it gave to Alabama was beneficent enough to entitle them to the unmeasured gratitude of the people. But the adjustment of the debt belonged to the administration of Governor HOUSTON; was a part of it; his counsel contributed to it; his handiwork was in it; and he it was who carried it out to completion. Others might have done as well had they occupied his place; but fortune, the tutelar deity that seems ever to have attended him, ordained that in him the man and the occasion should meet, and the man was equal to the occasion.

As I have said before, it is not easy to one who did not thoroughly know him, to analyze and precisely determine the causes of Senator HOUSTON'S success as a public man, but as under all circumstances and at all times he has enjoyed it, it is sufficient evidence that he possessed many of the elements upon which success is conditioned. He had a thorough knowledge of the people; he knew their thoughts, their feelings, and their prejudices, and with marvelous power could always call forth a hearty response to his own expressions of them. It cannot be said of Senator HOUSTON that he was a leader, in the sense that out of his own brain he coined great thoughts or originated great measures which he impressed upon the people; nor that he molded popular opinion into any new form or led it into channels in which it was not accustomed to run. He was seldom seen in advance lifting up his own banner emblazoned with his own creed, but oftener in the ranks of the people, one of them, bearing their standard, uttering their thoughts,

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and sounding their watchwords. This was the key to his popularity and to his success. He was a friend to the people, and as he loved them and was faithful to them, they honored him and crowned him with their sovereign gratitude.

The mental characteristics of Senator HOUSTON were caution and judgment; he was sagacious rather than wise; reached his conclusions more by intuition than by any process of reasoning, and demonstrated his views and opinions more by action than by logic.

It was never my privilege to hear him in a deliberative assembly, nor in the judicial forum, and only on the stump before the people in the latter years of his life. He showed there none of the culture of the scholar, and but few of the graces of the orator. His phrase was homely and his style discursive, but his speeches abounded in strong common sense, unskillfully modeled, they may have been, as a composition, but most skillfully adapted to reach the understandings and touch the hearts of his hearers.

The long-cherished ambition of Senator HOUSTON was to represent the State of Alabama in the Senate of the United States. In the sunset of his life this ambition was gratified; but in returning, after an absence of twenty years, to a theater in which he had been a conspicuous actor and to scenes which were once so familiar to him, he found all things changed. In this House, where he was so well known and wielded such large influence, there yet lingered but two or three who sat here with him, and who to-day have paid fitting tributes to his memory; and in the Senate he met but few whom he had ever seen or who had ever seen him. A new generation had succeeded to that to which he belonged; his contemporaries had passed into retirement or into the grave, and men who had attained to senatorial age and had commenced public life during

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his absence, had taken their places. New ideas, new impulses, new policies, too, had greatly superseded those which obtained in his day. It is not surprising, then, if he felt almost isolated and alone in the grand presence in which he sat, and realized, as he must have done, after having scaled the height up toward which he had so long struggled, the vanity and emptiness of all human ambition.

It is hardly probable, had Senator HOUSTON been spared to live through his constitutional term, that he would have added much to his fame. Its measure was already full; but he would unquestionably have become one of the most useful and valuable members of the Senate by his wise and prudent counsel, his strong practical sense, his far-seeing conservatism, his unwearying industry, and by his close attention to the business of legislation, to the conduct of which so few in either House of Congress devote themselves, and in which the very qualities for which Senator HOUSTON was most distinguished are so essential.

He was not long enough in the Senate for that body to appreciate his worth or now to feel the void which his death has caused; but the people of his beloved Alabama, who have so often honored him and who loved and trusted him so well, lament his loss to them and to the country, and will ever cherish a grateful remembrance of his virtues and his services.

Address of Mr. HERBERT, of Alabama.

Mr. SPEAKER, on the last day of 1879 the telegraph flashed to all parts of this continent the sad intelligence that Senator GEORGE S. HOUSTON was dead. A committee of Senators and Representatives from this Congress, some from New England,

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some from the West, and some from his own loved land of the South, started at once for his home to mingle with the mourners there, and testify, by their presence, the grief of the whole people of this mighty land for the people's loss. It was my melancholy privilege to be one of that committee. The funeral awaited our coming. As we approached the beautiful little town, so long the home of the deceased, the day was perfect; the sun shone bright and warm as on a morning in May. But no carol of birds, no sound of joy from any living thing greeted our ears. Midwinter was on the gray fields and barren trees, and cheerless midwinter in the hearts of the people. Their homes and spires were hung with black; the gloom of grief was on every face. As I stood by the grave and listened to a gifted orator telling over the life of Alabama's best-loved son to the silent and listening throng of all ages, sexes, and conditions, my mind swept back over the busy years of that life—years that were all ended in the grave before me—and then as I glanced up at the bright sunshine and thought how that sun would continue to arise and set and seasons would come and go, I felt

Alas! Alas!—
  How soon we pass!
And ah! we go—
  So far away?—
When go we must,—
From the Light of Life, and the heat of strife,—
To the Peace of Death, and the cold, still Dust,—
  We go—we go—we may not stay,
  We travel the lone, dark, dreary way;—
Out of the Day and into the Night,—
Into the Darkness,—out of the Bright.—
And then! ah, then! like other men,
  We close our eyes—and go to sleep—
  We hush our hearts—and go to sleep,—
  Only a few, one hour, shall weep,
  Ah, me! the Grave is lone and deep!

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But it is not true of him that "Only a few, one hour, shall weep." I do not speak the language of eulogy, but only the plain unvarnished truth, when I say that, though Alabama has many sons who are loved and trusted, the death of no other could have caused so keen a sense of personal loss to so many of her people.

Senator HOUSTON was a remarkable man, and his was a remarkable career. He was born in Tennessee, but came to Alabama in his early boyhood, and to him Alabama was always the mother State. To her people he gave the warm affections of his youth; to their service he devoted the energies of his manhood; and to them in their hour of need he consecrated the golden fruits of a ripe experience.

I knew him for years, but it was never my good fortune to become intimately associated with him until the last session of this Congress. During all that exciting period we were daily companions. Then I learned to love him as my wise counselor and my friend.

Senator HOUSTON had not the advantage of a thorough education, and he was never a close student of books. Strict mental discipline in his youth would have helped him to a broader culture and a more finished style of oratory than he ever attained; but he was a broad-minded man, and possessed in an extraordinary degree the genius of common sense. His mind was strong, active, and logical. It was objective rather than subjective. He never indulged in metaphysical abstractions, but he studied closely the practical bearings of every question and comprehended them clearly. His judgment was rarely if ever in fault. It is said that mistakes are the stepping-stones to wisdom. If in his long public career he was ever compelled to use these stepping-stones, they helped him to a practical wisdom I have never seen excelled. He was made

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solicitor, and twice elected to the legislature of his State when a young man. In 1841 he came to this House as a member and began here a long and honorable career. He served without intermission until 1849, when he voluntarily retired for two years. But in 1851 he was again returned and continued by successive elections as a Representative here till his State seceded in 1861. During all this time he grew in wisdom and usefulness. Experience, industry, ability, and an unswerving devotion to duty gave him high rank when such men as John C. Breckinridge, Humphrey Marshall, Frank Bowden, James A. Stallworth, James L. Pugh, David Clopton, Thad. Stevens, and Charles Francis Adams were members of this body.

He was once chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House and twice chairman of the great Committee of Ways and Means. He was the inflexible foe of a protective tariff, and combated it with all his power and influence. He believed in a tariff for revenue and not for protection. He urged that protection of the manufacturer was robbery of the consumer. He was in all things an unflinching democrat, and never wavered in his fidelity to party. Trained in the school of Jefferson and Madison, he contended for a strict construction of the Constitution, for the rights of the States, and the people of the States. Yet, sir, he was conservative in all his course. He was in this Congress, except two years, as I have said, from 1841 to 1861. I have looked back with as much care as time and opportunity would permit over the record of congressional debates during this period; I have turned over page after page in volume after volume, and, sir, I do not find that during all that time he ever made a single speech or uttered a single word calculated to fan the angry passions that brought on the war between the States. While others discussed politics he addressed himself to business. He was a member in the winter

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of 1861 of the famous committee of thirty-three. He voted for the formation of that committee, but it was unable to devise means of saving the Union. He remained in his place performing his duty as a Representative until after his State seceded. This, he believed, she had a right to do, and on the 21st day of January, 1861, he united with five other Representatives from Alabama in a letter, which was laid by the Speaker before the House, announcing their withdrawal from the further deliberations of that body. After reciting the secession of the State the letter proceeds:

> The causes which, in the judgment of our State, rendered this action necessary we need not relate. It is sufficient to say that duty requires our obedience to her sovereign will, and that we shall return to our homes, sustain her action, and share the fortunes of her people.

Of the signers, the name of GEORGE S. HOUSTON was first.

Thus terminated his career as a member of this House and the first era of his life as a public man.

Reviewing his history in this House, we find that he was always at the post of duty; that he took part frequently in debate, especially toward the close of his service; that he occasionally made exhaustive arguments in which there were sometimes eloquent passages, but there was no effort at display. He was in no sense an innovator. He never claimed to be wiser than the fathers. He accepted the Constitution without question. Its checks and balances, its delicately-adjusted machinery, were to him the wisest piece of workmanship ever fashioned by man for the protection of individual liberty. He saw here a central government that was partly national and partly federal; national as to our ships at sea and commerce abroad—national as to all the outside world—national at home, in so far as it touched the people directly, but federal in every feature that recognized and guarded the autonomy of the

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States. He saw this government as did Washington and Jefferson and Jackson, and he deemed it the highest duty of a patriot to carry it on as they had administered it. To this effort he had devoted the best energies of his life.

For thirteen years after he left Washington, in 1861, he lived at home, illustrating in the walks of private life all those domestic traits which so beautifully adorn and embellish the character of one who has distinguished himself in public station. His virtues were as conspicuous and shining in the charmed circle of home and friends as in the Congress of the United States.

In 1874 the time again came when the people needed his services. It would not be fitting in me, sir, now standing, as it were, in the presence of the grave, to indulge in the language of invective or say anything calculated to rouse bitter memories; rather would I, if I could, commit them all here to the dark waters of Lethe; but no citizen of Alabama can ever forget the anxiety, the distress, the dark forebodings of her people as they girded up their loins to enter into the great political conflict of 1874, upon the result of which so many felt the future happiness of the people and prosperity of the State depended. Alabama had always been proud of her honor and her credit. She had even sent gold through the blockade during the war to pay the interest on her debt. Now her head was bowed down with shame, her credit was gone, and profligacy and corruption were eating out her substance. The bright future her orators had painted, when her mountains should teem with wealth and her valleys with fatness; when her broad streams should bear on their liquid bosoms a mighty commerce to the sea; when every hillside and plain should be dotted with happy homes—all this roseate picture was shrouded with gloom. Confidence was gone; doubt and anxiety were everywhere. Her

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citizens by thousands and tens of thousands were fleeing her borders, and thousands more were awaiting the result of the great political conflict about to begin. All eyes turned to GEORGE S. HOUSTON as the leader of his party, and he was nominated by acclamation for governor. I shall never forget that canvass, and no one who heard him before the people will ever forget his speeches.

There were no graceful figures of speech, no classical illusions, no flights of fancy, no carefully-studied phrases, and no effort at well-rounded periods, but his words went home to the hearts of the people with a convincing power I have never seen equaled. He addressed himself to every phase of opinion, to every shade of prejudice, and to men of all political antecedents. His logic was so plain that none could fail to comprehend him; his illustrations were drawn from the most familiar objects and always full of point; his every anecdote was an argument, and his manner invited and compelled confidence. In fine, sir, there was that about him that caused his words to come as from one having authority, and it did seem that he spoke as the prophets spake. He was elected and re-elected, and during his term of service as governor abuses in administration were corrected, extravagance was checked, confidence was restored, the credit of the State regained, and Alabama was placed once more on the high road to assured prosperity.

At the end of his second term as governor, the Legislature, reflecting the wishes of the people, sent him to the Senate of the United States, which had been for many years the goal of his honorable ambition. It is a sad, sad thought that death has deprived us of his services here. But the Reaper has garnered wheat that was ripe. Every honor the people of his State could bestow was his, and worthily he wore them all; but "he has run his course and sleeps in blessings."

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Mr. Speaker, I do not mean, in pronouncing a just eulogium upon the dead, to detract from the well-earned praise due to the living. The credit of the wonderful campaign of 1874 is not all due to Governor HOUSTON. Behind him was a great mind organizing the forces and directing the conflict. By his side and everywhere throughout the field true sons of Alabama pressed forward to her deliverance; but wherever the fight in the front was hottest, and the smoke was thickest, there towered above all the crest of HOUSTON like the white plume of King Henry of Navarre at the battle of Ivry.

So, after he was inaugurated, the people held up his hands; they sent true men to aid him in his great work, and immediately about him were gathered wise counselors and co-workers. Yet among all and above all HOUSTON was the chieftain, the leader, the great reformer, the idol of the people.

> Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus
> Tam cari capitis?

By a law of this Congress each State in the Union is invited to send the statues in bronze or marble of two of its dead—"illustrious for their historic renown or for distinguished civic or military virtues"—to be placed in this Capitol in commemoration of the affections of their people and as bright exemplars of virtue. Maine has sent William King, Massachusetts has sent Samuel Adams, New York, Edward Livingston and George Clinton. Other States have contributed statues of those they hold in fond recollection, and if the Legislature of my State will take counsel of the people and their desire to testify it in some fitting manner, it seems to me that Alabama will send GEORGE S. HOUSTON to stand in that Hall where the people of his district sent him so often when living—in that old Hall of the House of Representatives, now peopled with the images of departed greatness and kindling with glorious mem-

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ories of the past—the Hall that rang with the eloquence of Clay, re-echoed the logic of Calhoun, gave back the immortal words of Webster, and was the scene of the ceaseless labors of HOUSTON for the people's good. It would be the people's tribute to the people's friend.

Address of Mr. WILLIAMS, of Alabama.

Mr. SPEAKER, grief is the natural emotion of the mind, when confronted by bereavements seemingly irreparable. Were it otherwise, we would be devoid of that sensation attesting the sincerity of our appreciation and gratitude, esteem and affection, love and devotion. Indeed, it would be equivalent to a denial of their existence, by reason of our incapacity for their indulgence. Who could contemplate humanity thus denuded of those floral beauties of the heart, whose incense and odors, were there no revelation teaching it, would inspire a conviction of a higher and better state of existence awaiting us? It is not only natural and proper that grief should dwell with us in such bereavements, but it is exalting and divine for it to be so.

In the loss of Senator GEORGE SMITH HOUSTON, of Alabama, the public mind is this day confronted by and contemplating an apparently irreparable bereavement. Who can doubt its impressive grief, prompted by the loss of this good and great man? If there be any such, there are none to envy them the desert waste of their barren hearts. Grief is not only here, but prompts the silent inquiry now being made in behalf of the great public mind and heart as to what shall be the bounds of her appreciation for and her gratitude to him, the glow of her esteem and the impulse of her affection for him, the depth of her love and the heights of her devotion to

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the memory of him who was her noble son, he who cherished her reputation and treasured her honor as he did his life, and who subserved her good and glory up to and with his dying utterances.

This eminent citizen was a public man throughout the greater part of his life—a life that extended to the ripe age of seventy. During this long career, in the different positions he held and filled, in private or public life, his excellency in morals was of an exemplary and unexceptionable character. His bitterest foe never called in question his integrity; his physical and moral courage was proverbial; his magnanimity was equally conspicuous, while his unvarying and successful popularity afforded the amplest proof of his geniality, his fullness of heart. Possessed of such elements in their most enlarged development, and with them displayed in action, none can deny that he was a good man. When you add to them true and forcible intellectuality, you will have finished the blending of attributes and virtues which as surely constitute a good and great man as the unity and proper diffusion of colors affirm the beauties of the rainbow.

What has been the career of Senator HOUSTON in the line of which he has displayed the intellectuality and qualities of heart pronouncing his goodness and greatness? Viewed as an executive officer in the courts of his State; a youthful, fearless, incorruptible solicitor; a wholesome terror to evil-doers, as well as an assured protection to the innocent; maintaining and vindicating the supremacy of her laws against all violators, he has left an example worthy of emulation. Or as a junior representative in the Legislative Assembly of his State, his modest and unassuming yet dutiful and studious career as such was marked with a discretion and ability that presaged his after efficiency and greatness. Or as the chief

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executive of his State, called thereto by the compelling voice of his people at a time when she was stranded in the shallows of bankruptcy; when she was dismantled and disfigured by a most profigate if not corrupt administration of her affairs; when lawlessness and disorder were rife in her midst; when life, liberty, and property were not vouchsafed by the strong arm of the law; when schisms, feuds, and bickerings were on the daily increase; when her treasury was exhausted and her credit unavailing; when her taxes were so onerous as to paralyze the efforts of her languishing industries; when the property of her people was without sale value by reason of the presence of seeming anarchy; when she was most flagrantly misrepresented by those professing to be her guardians; when emigration to her borders was inhibited by the deadly upas pervading her atmosphere; when the hopes of her bravest hearts were in the embers of extinguishment; and when her people were insulted and disfranchised by a pretended constitution unknown to and unprescribed by them, imposed upon them by a swarm of vampires who were preying upon her vitals with vulturous greed—at such a time, in the midst of such surroundings, this wonderful, magical, unexcelled commander assumed the charge of her destiny, and with a spirit, nerve, and devotion that gave assurance at once of a vital and wholesome change in her affairs.

In the short space of four years he transferred her to her present most excellent chief executive repaired and refitted from hull to the pinnacle of her mast-head, moving majestically, under full sail, in the clear, deep waters defined as her track, by the consummate skill of an acknowledged navigator, with her treasury replenished, her credit restored; with her people relieved of overburdened taxation, and the hum of industry revitalized throughout her limits; with their hopes

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rekindled, their spirits reanimated, and their resolutions re-resolved; with law and order reigning supreme throughout her borders, and schisms, feuds, and bickerings dissipated and obliviated; with life, liberty, and property secured beyond a peril, and peace, plenty, and growing prosperity the daily blessing of her people; with a substantial value restored to her property and emigrants coming into her borders from all points of the land. And as a further testimonial of the devotion of the American people to that deathless principle, so essential to the existence of liberty, avowing that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, she now enjoys the benefaction of a constitution adopted by her own people, in whose broad, clear, and well-defined ordinations are to be found the amplest and fullest guarantees of all the rights, privileges, and immunities that belong or attach to freemen and citizens under our unequaled republican form of government.

Should I, then, not say that he has left a model administration of her affairs that may be wisely followed by his successors? Her people with united voice exclaim, in the language of one of her gifted poets—

All praise, all honor to her faithful son,
  Who was the staff on which she sorely leant
When, debt-oppressed and 'neath the alien's yoke,
  Her regal head in bondage vile was bent;
Who was her staff, and at whose magic touch
  Her debt was lifted and her foes dispersed,
At whose high beck the clouds went rolling back,
  And freedom's sunshine reillumed her track.

Has poetry or eloquence, in their most vivid portrayals, their sublimest sketches, ever o'erdrawn the picture of blessings flowing from the toilsome, patient, self-sacrificing work of the good and great man who addresses his life to the build-

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ing up rather than to the agitation, dismemberment, and destruction of his country? A most eminent subject for their divine arts, in this particular, is presented to them when the traits and characteristics, life and acts of Senator HOUSTON shall be fully made known.

If to induce two spears of grass to flourish where only one grew before constitutes a benefactor of his race, what shall be said of him who, uprooting and extinguishing all the noxious weeds to social and political health, induces an abounding in their stead of life-sustaining, health-invigorating plants, under whose benign influences revive and flourish law and order, sobriety and industry, quiet and contentment, gladsomeness and peace, plenty and prosperity; or who reverses the face of his land and people from despair and desperation to righteousness and exaltation?

He who thus aims, though he should fail in his noble and God-like purposes, will be treasured in the hearts of his people as one who, soaring with the eagle, has left the record of his flight and of his failure among the stars, yet more to be admired and envied than he "who creeps the gutter with the reptile and beds his memory and his body together in the dung-hill." But with joyous success crowing his inspired aims, his tireless efforts, does not GEORGE S. HOUSTON stand out before his fellow-men encircled in a halo of triumphantly wrought, richly merited, imperishable glory?

Well may his days seem all too few to thee,
  And yet he gave to time a perfect fame;
For though death wrote a *finis* to his deeds
  While yet he strove to build a greater name,
Still in the compass of the years he had
  He did achieve for thee, his beloved State,
A full redemption, and for all thy woes
  A happy issue and a glorious fate.

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When you come to view him as a Representative upon this floor for eighteen years an effort to recount his efficient and successful career here would swell these remarks to a volume. But let it be said his devotion and ability were such that he was returned as often as his terms expired or he would accept the proffered honor, and that for the last ten years of his service he walked over the track without the semblance of opposition, thus evincing his towering strength before the people as so formidable that none would dare oppose "The Bald Eagle of the Mountains," an appellation they conferred upon him in their generous admiration of his prowess and achievements.

During his membership here, he filled for a considerable part of the time the chairmanship either of Military Affairs, Ways and Means, or the Judiciary; positions of the most arduous, responsible, and honorable character; his elevation to which unmistakably indicated the estimate placed upon his abilities and integrity. And none have or ever will labor with more assiduous disinterestedness, impartiality, and proficiency to fully discharge the duties of the same.

His ceaseless vigils in protecting the people against a profligate or corrupt expenditure of the public funds, rightfully won for him here the merited cognomen of "the watch-dog of the Treasury"; the stern and courageous presence of whom in later years would have relieved history of the recitals of robberies and plunderings, the magnitude and turpitude of which has been a just cause of reproach to our people, a humiliation to those who cherish her reputation or who treasure her honor.

Elected to the Senate of the United States in 1865, and shortly after the termination of the war between the United and Confederate States, he was denied admission—an act

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resulting in more injury to the Government and the people than to himself, and upon the justice of which history has yet to record that unimpassioned and truthful verdict so seldom if ever attained upon partisan representations; or other than "the feelings which inspiring it, rests on a regard for historical truth."

Re-elected by his State after the close of his gubernatorial term, he had not more than assumed the robes of a Senator and entered upon the duties of that august and responsible trust, when the icy fingers of the Pale Messenger loosened the heart-strings of life. But his last words on earth, as he was "going out," when he exclaimed to his faithful servant "Give me my shoes, I must go to the Senate," immortalized the devotion with which he had consecrated himself to its fullest exactions, and epitaphed his tomb with the one great cardinal feature of his life—ever to be at the post of duty.

He was furnished his sandals by the Pale Messenger, as he landed him upon the shining shore on eternity's side of the bright river; and he has gone to the Senate composed of the immortals of that celestial world whose presiding officer is the great "I Am"; where his imperfections and frailties here have been swallowed up and expiated by the entry made in its momentous, imperishable journals of "Well done, good and faithful servant."

Should we not all take heed and so apply our hearts to wisdom that we may inherit that welcome plaudit, a legacy infinitely beyond all others in its priceless value, its unending bestowals?

Mr. Speaker, when on the last day of last year

> The spring of life gently ceased,
> And angels wafted his soul to peace,

that potent voice, whose utterances to or for his people were

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the words of soberness and truth, wisdom and statesmanship, was silenced in their behalf forever; that heart glowing with a desire ever to promote the general welfare of his country, by a ceaseless devotion to the substantial and permanent interests of his people and which pulsated in sadness for their woes, in joy for their weal, sounded its last thrilling key-note in their behalf forever; that intellect, gigantic in its structure, powerful in its development, penetrating in its force, profound in its researches, solid in its conclusions, unwavering in its decisions, and which was watchful and active in the advancement of his country's best interest, his people's highest welfare, scintillated its last golden thought of solicitude in their behalf forever.

At such a loss how eminently becoming that the chief executive of his State should make public proclamation thereof, with tender of his sympathies to his people, and with the officers of State should close its departments, array in mourning its capitol, and hasten to the distant home of the deceased to add to the swelling throng that stood in unconsoled bereavement around his bier.

Such a loss could not—yea, should not—fail to deeply affect the public mind with impressive sadness and grief. No strains in eulogy of the absent one were needful to awaken and open up the deepest feelings of grief in the hearts of those who knew this truly good and great man. Alas! too well for their own consolation did they realize their loss in his death. Full well did they remember that his fidelity to them and their every interest was not within the range or grasp of any or all of the arts of seduction combined to entrap; that his vigilance in the pursuit of their interests, the maintenance of their rights, was above and beyond the influences of any magnetism to divert or any charm to lull to sleep; that his bold, exploring, and expounding intellect was not to be quailed, and only

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to be quieted in its pursuits when the goal of their successful defense from wrong, their protection from danger, had been attained; that no amount of physical trial or privation, mental struggle or endurance, seemed to impede or enfeeble his action or diminish his resolution when thus engaged; that it were full enough for him to know the ominous finger of duty pointed to the task on behalf of his people, and the same was at once initiated only to be achieved, for, as the great cardinal of France had invoked, in his bright lexicon there was no such word as fail.

With such ennobling traits and their bounteous results adorning and enriching his life-long pathway, what other insignia should crown his noble brow but that of goodness and greatness? If excellency in morals, force in intellect, constitute greatness, their possession by him would have been confirmed in the accredited proof of the trusts confided, the unqualified approval of his demeanor in and discharge of them by the people. If to be honored throughout his days for his prowess, treasured to his death for his fidelity, and embalmed thereafter in the hearts of his people for his goodness constitute greatness, the record of his life displays the one and attests the other, while the voice of his people, heard this day throughout the land, proclaim the last. His was a life of events rather than words; events guarding his pathway as towers of protection, alike repelling the javelins of criticism, the arrows of malice, or the missiles of envy, now standing up as so many monuments, beautified with garlands of the people's approval, bespeaking their devotion to and their grief for him.

The brawny mariner, with a generosity of heart toward his crew as capacious, a love for them as deep, as the fathomless waters upon which he floats, and whose matchless tact and

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crowning skill mid-ocean's wildest furies had tested, was never more deeply endeared to or more confidingly trusted in by them than was he by the people; nor could their grief at the loss of one who had thus piloted them from midnight's mountainous tempests into the sun-gilded and placid harbor of safety have been more poignant than were those who had thus stood around this political mariner in the perilous storms of the past.

> Good mother, weep, Cornelia of the South,
> For thou indeed hast lost a jewel son;
> The Gracchi great were not so much beloved,
> Nor with more worthy deeds their honors won.
> Thy stalwart son deserves a Roman's fame,
> For Cato was not more supremely just;
> Augustus was not greater in the state,
> Nor Brutus truer to the public trust.

When the deplorable events of 1861 began to cast their shadows so near as to startle and arouse an astounded world with their grandly awful issues, whose terrific currents were sweeping and counter sweeping into them section against section, that intuitive wisdom, nothing less than the inspiration of true and inherent statesmanship, presided with such vital force in the temple of his mind as to retard his movements. It adjured and constrained him to cling to the Union of the States, for which he had a love akin to adoration, and to which, neither by thought, word, or deed, had he ever been untrue. It admonished and emboldened him to plant himself upon deck as one of the watchful crew of the Federal ship of state, freighted with the covenants and jewels of American freedom, and then ingulfing in the livid billows of the clashing storms. With a ready and cheerful acquiescence did he listen and yield to her potential adjurations up to the moment his State ordained her separation and recalled her allegiance. Then fidelity to his people, that crowning virtue of the heart, panoplied in the sanctions of

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nature and of nature's God, that shielding and protecting goddess to all the other virtues, assumed and asserted in the temple of his mind her resistless sway.

In obedience to her behests, reluctantly and dejectedly did he turn his back upon the temples of that Union in no wise inimical to him, and left these halls in which he had acted with so much ability throughout a period of long, long years. Unlike the acquired child of Naomi, in her journey to the fruitful and prosperous land of Boaz, he was of the South, to the manner born. By the ties of a blood far thicker and stronger than water, by the impulses of a divinity of his nature that wafted love to all, malice to none, but peerless devotion to his own, her people were his people. By the light of a revelation, truth-inspiring and heaven-exalting, her God was his God. By a heart embowered in the encircling tendrils of the affection and devotion of her people did he unalterably resolve not to be entreated to leave them, and that whithersoever they should go and dwell there would he go and abide. By a constancy incapable of wavering or faltering, where her people died there would he die. And where her people are entombed and being interred, in equal sentiment of sublime devotion with Ruth, there doth he repose. Amid her vine-clad mountains, her flowery, dimpled valleys, radiant with the beams of her bright sunlight, at the golden age of three-score and ten, and full of honors, sleeps in quiet rest the statesman moved by no other impulse but his country's good; the patriot disdaining all lines or sections as circumscribing his endearments and attachments; the neighbor whom the good Samaritan could have greeted as a brother; the friend with whom Damon or Pythias could have locked shields; the husband and father who made his home an Eden and its dearly-loved inmates the guardian angels of his life.

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In the earlier days of my manhood I was a brief sojourner at Knoxville, in the renowned State of Tennessee, the honored mother of our cherished Senator. Arriving there on a bright Sabbath in November, 1847, in all the loneliness that could envelop one who was a stranger to her entire people, I strolled into her beautiful and attractive cemetery, feeling that I would need no indorsement or introduction to be on terms of welcomed companionship with her noiseless and quiet residents. While lingering in her silent walk-ways and on her treasured earth, my eye was attracted by a commanding shaft whose spire was towering above its associates with imposing beauty and grandeur. When I had neared and confronted it, I saw that it protected the sacred dust and commemorated the blessed memory of her illustrious and immortal son, Hugh Lawson White, that "noblest work of God," who held the inviolability of conscience of far greater moment than a seat in the Senate of the United States, a position he had resigned in preference to fulfilling his State's instructions upon a measure that met with no sanction in that sacred forum. The closing inscription upon that grand token, seen then for the first and until yet the last time in print, sculptured its sublime utterances upon my youthful memory in impressions as nearly perishless as were wrought upon the face of that beautiful monument. And now from that faithful memory, after the lapse of thirty-three years, I here invoke it as a poetical garland equally appropriate to adorn the memory of this her noble son, who was

> Composed in suffering, in joy sedate;
> Good without noise, without pretensions, great;
> True to his word, in every thought sincere;
> He knew no wish but what the world might hear.

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Address of Mr. LOWE, of Alabama.

I have the honor, Mr. Speaker, to represent, in part, Governor HOUSTON'S old congressional district—his home and his grave—and therefore I beg to add a last word of tribute to his memory. But first let me express my acknowledgments to those gentlemen who, preceding me on this occasion, have so truly and eloquently voiced the general opinion of the country. I desire to reflect the particular sentiments of Governor HOUSTON'S own people. He was, sir, a conspicuous figure in Alabama politics. No man has been more honored by the State; no man more trusted by the people. He was a member of this House for eighteen years; chairman in turn of each of its principal committees; influential with the ruling party of the country and busy in public affairs during the most interesting and instructive period of our history. He was twice governor of Alabama and twice elected to the United States Senate.

He was not, sir, what is commonly called a "man of genius." He did not possess that singular gift, that dangerous faculty, that rare personal magnetism to make men instinctively follow after him without a motive, or believe in him without a reason. But he was a strong, sagacious, useful man of affairs, with the supreme good sense to see at any time what was best to be said or to be done, and with the ability, tact, and prestige to say it or do it. He sought, as was said of another, "to serve, rather than to please the people." The sheer strength that never failed him in a political contest grew, I think, more out of his efficiency as a politician than out of his popularity as a man. Although personally loved and lamented, the fact is, and he gloried in it, that through an honest, impartial public service, he won political success by deserving it.

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He was not an orator in the ordinary, popular sense. In elocution he attempted no flights of imagination and eloquence. Yet in joint discussion he was thought to be without doubt the best debater, the most dangerous antagonist, in the State. I have heard him often. He seldom wrote or published his speeches, yet all the country-side in North Alabama abounds with popular traditions of his triumphs in argument, wit, humor, anecdote, rough and ready debate on the hustings and before the masses. In conversation with myself and a few other friends some months before his death, he said it was his habit not to memorize or read his remarks; that he rarely framed set phrases and sentences in advance, but studied rather to understand and to be understood, trusting more to the fullness of his information, on a given subject, than to memory or manuscript.

His election as governor, after a long retirement, was his return to public life. It was also the *renaissance* of his party. His administration, being sustained in the most part by the property, conservatism, and intelligence of the community, brought order out of reconstruction, and gave a normal and settled appearance to society. It restored confidence to the people and credit to the State.

Senator HOUSTON in all his views was eminently patriotic and conservative. He stood, sir, between the extreme opinions of his day, antagonizing the "dogmas of secession" on one side and the "horrors of coercion" on the other. He desired above all things to maintain existing institutions. He saw himself a citizen of the greatest, freest Republic in the world. It was the crisis of the country, the climacteric period of 1860. The nation then was at the zenith of its glory—the Augustan age revived, and that, too, under higher forms and better auspices. He saw around him a new and splendid civilization,

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the result of our common victories in war and peace—agriculture, commerce, manufactures, the mechanic arts, science, literature, popular education, security to life, protection to property—in other words, he saw and felt the reality of all that material prosperity, individual happiness, and political tranquillity which defines the "blessings of liberty" established by the Constitution. It was natural, therefore, that he should be conservative, distrustful of new ventures and experiments. He was himself, sir, not only a free citizen of this great Government, but an honored representative from its happiest, proudest, richest section. He wanted no change, much less revolution. Acting from these considerations, he alone of the delegation from Alabama advocated in the House in the last hours of the session the famous compromise committee of thirty-three members, one from each State, to reconcile, if possible, the conflicting interests and feelings which then threatened the country. He seems to have looked to that committee with profound solicitude as the forlorn hope of the Union, or rather as the poet has it—

The full of hope, miscalled forlorn.

The result, Mr. Speaker, is history—a bitter chapter. I need not dwell upon it. But surely, sir, if the men of 1860, his contemporaries in and out of Congress, had been as considerate, as thoughtful, as wise in their generation as he was, the most shameful and distressing page in American history would not, perhaps, have been written. Had his advice been heeded, no drop of American blood would ever have been shed in fraternal conflict. I pay him, therefore, this tribute. He stood by the country until the last southern star had faded from the flag; until every mental and moral resource had failed; until the Union in fact and in sentiment was dissolved. He then sacrificed his opinions and went with his State, "to share," as he

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then avowed, "the fortunes of her people." But he did not favor the movement, he did not provoke it; he acquiesced in it, but his judgment, his wisdom was against it. This is his eulogy. As Congressman, governor, Senator, he will take rank in history as the last representative leader of the old national democracy of Alabama.

Mr. Speaker, after eighteen years of almost continuous service, Governor HOUSTON left the House in 1861, and only returned last year to take a seat in the Senate. The Government, with a mighty impulse, had rushed ahead of him a score of years in time and a century in change, progress, development. He must have felt the flight of years and the changes in administration, but, sir, he seemed entirely equal to his exalted position. He sought, with the prudence and circumspection which characterized his life—*boni senatoris prudentia*—to adapt himself to the altered conditions of the country, and to practice that "statesmanship" which Mr. Madison said "is the science of circumstances." He engaged to some extent in the business and debates, especially on politico-economic questions, which occupied the Senate last spring. He ranged himself then, as heretofore, with the many against the few, with the people against classes and corporations. He was consistent with himself; he kept the tenor of his thoughts and actions harmonious to the end. In the truest sense, sir, he was a man of the people. Had he lived, I feel assured, he would have served the country, and the whole country, as well in the future as in the past.

Among the famous sons of Alabama who served in the old Congress in the Senate or in the House, I recur with pride to the names of Bagby, Bowdon, King, Lewis, Chambers, Pickens, the elder Walker, Harris, Yancey, Clemens, Dargan, and others. They form a galaxy of great men who have contrib-

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uted largely to the honor and influence of the State and to the dignity and character of the whole country. But, sir, it is not invidious to say that none of them has done better service or more of it than HOUSTON; none has left with the people a stronger, cleaner, better record.

The death of such a man, Mr. Speaker, is always deplorable; but when he holds high place it becomes a public calamity. The reputation, the good fame he leaves behind him, is indeed our recompense. And in this respect, sir, the dead Senator, full of honors as of years, will not be lacking. The sturdy forces of his mind and character have made a lasting impression on the State.

> Time hath, my Lord, a wallet on his back,
> Wherein he puts alms for oblivion.

We naturally strive to withhold the better things of life from the gloomy forgetfulness of the grave. And so, sir, the example of GEORGE S. HOUSTON, through a long career of honest, patriotic public service, remains to us—a lesson to his contemporaries, a legacy to posterity. He died as he had lived, in the confidence of the country. Peace to his ashes! Honor to his memory!

Mr. Speaker, I now move the adoption of the resolutions offered by my colleague [Mr. FORNEY], and that, as a further mark of respect for the deceased, the House do now adjourn.

The resolutions submitted by Mr. FORNEY were then unanimously adopted.

The motion of Mr. LOWE was then agreed to, and accordingly (at five o'clock p. m.) the House adjourned.

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ADDRESS

OF

REV. GEORGE W. F. PRICE,

AT THE

FUNERAL OF HON. GEORGE S. HOUSTON,

ATHENS, ALABAMA, JANUARY 2, 1880.

Scarcely more than a twelvemonth has passed away since I stood, as a visitor for the first time, in the streets of this beautiful little city. Although midwinter, the day, like that which now bathes us with its mellow radiance, was calm, bright, serene, and mild.

"The bridal of the earth and sky," one of those delicious days which are known in their perfection at this season only in this charming southern climate, when heaven and earth, invested with supernal beauty, seem vying each with the other in elevating the mind and in diffusing a pleasing tranquillity throughout the soul. With you, my fellow-citizens, it appeared to be a day of special note. As the hour for the arrival of the southern train drew on, a spirit of expectancy seemed to take hold upon the city and upon the adjacent country. From the rural districts around; from every home within your peaceful precincts; from the busy market-place, alive with winter traffic; from professional offices and from the chambers of your honorable courts; from the halls of learning, where are taught your little children, your young men, and your maidens; from

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the sanctuary of God, where was assembled a reverend body in grave religious convocation, there flowed an incessant stream of people toward your railroad depot. Without distinction of age, I saw the gray-beard sire and the prattling child; without distinction of social caste, I saw the strong yeomanry of the country, in the decent garb of honest toil, mingling with your finest city people, glossy in broadcloth and rustling in silks; without distinction of sex, I saw bearded men and gentle women; without distinction of color, I beheld the white man and the black, the late master and the emancipated freedman; without distinction of creed or belief, I saw men of both the great political parties which divide the suffrages of your citizens, all moving, as by a common impulse, toward the central point of the day's supreme interest. Although a stranger to your city, as a native Alabamian I was no stranger to the occasion which had aroused amidst your quiet homes so keen a zest of alert and cordial anticipation. The wires had but a few days before announced the election of your honored fellow-townsman to the high dignity of an American Senator, and now by the same electric flash had come tidings of his expected arrival. Those aged men were the friends of his boyhood and the companions of his manly prime; those little children had been taught to lisp with pride his honorable name; those young girls, in their maidenly bloom, were the pupils of the school which had felt his paternal care; those boys were the hopeful scions of a worthy race, who had pointed them to the lesson of a noble ambition nobly realized, which was soon to receive the emphasis of a popular ovation; those stalwart men were the constituency that had so often swelled the triumphs and applauded the achievements of him whom they now waited with impatience to welcome to the joyous felicitations of the people whom he loved, and to the first public

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recognition of the civic honors that crowned his head. And thus was I fully prepared to enter into sympathy with the swelling tide of popular enthusiasm, which burst its barriers when, stepping from the panting train to the platform arranged for his reception, amidst the clangor of martial music that was drowned by the cheers of the swaying multitude, and amidst a torrent of congratulations as vigorous as they were sincere, towered the commanding form of Senator GEORGE S. HOUSTON, his brow bared, his face beaming with the ruddy hue of health, and flushed with the struggling emotions that swelled his bosom, as he gazed upon the sea of familiar faces and heard the shouts of voices known to him through years of neighborly fellowship, and endeared by the memory of a thousand hallowed and inspiriting associations. I felt myself gazing upon one of those spontaneous outbursts of popular feeling which reflect equal honor upon those who render and those who receive them. Alas! that I should stand to-day to bear an humble part in a scene of sorrow and of desolation, in such vivid and painful contrast with the festive occasion to which I have alluded. Nothing, my brother men—you will agree with me in saying—nothing could more strikingly symbolize for us the pathetic instability of all earthly fortune than the ghastly shadow that has fallen upon a day bright with so auspicious a dawning. This sable-shrouded coffin; these melancholy insignia of death, relieved only by the Christian hopes of a resurrection morn, typified so touchingly by the flowers that cluster above his breast; these penitential psalms that wail like the cry of souls smitten to the core with a sad amaze; this weeping group of near and dearly-beloved kindred; this great company of his devoted fellow-citizens, whose faces are shadowed by the stroke that has fallen on their town; this silent multitude of women and children, whose upturned eyes

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are wet with the precious dews of their gentle sympathy; these many-colored friends, whose faces are chastened to reverent grief by the blow that has alike bereaved all classes of this community; this solemn assemblage of chief men from all the district which he so long and so faithfully served; these gentlemen here, of good fame and of high places, from the officials of your city to the chief magistrate of this great State that he loved so well; these most honorable Senators and Representatives of our Federal Government, the compeers and late associates of him who lies there, who have come down, in their official dignity from the far borders of our land, to testify their decent public condolence and their private personal sorrow—all alike point to the solemnity of the hour, to the majesty of the august station from which death has snatched him, and to the worthiness of him whose obsequies we celebrate.

This is not the time for the common-places of funereal discourse, nor for the studied eulogies of the sacred desk. Upon a more illustrious arena, and under the dome of that Capitol toward which for so many years his eye was daily turned, with pride and affection, by tongues that have eloquence and by voices that command a nation's breathless attention, on some fitting memorial day, shall his honored associates do ample justice to the deeds and to the memory of Senator GEORGE S. HOUSTON. And yet here in the community that has so long known, admired, and loved him, and in the hearing of those who, loving him alive, will cherish his memory now that he is gone; amongst the people whose confidence he enjoyed with dignity and repaid with loyalty, fidelity, and devotion, and in the presence of those who were dearer to him than this vital air of Heaven, there is a touching fitness in telling over, however briefly, the record of his noble and his worthy deeds. For there is in a sorrow a subtle luxury of selfish melancholy,

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which delights in dwelling, with tearful iteration, upon every precious detail of the well-known story, since in the mournful repetition we fondly seem to live again over the whole round of endearing companionship with the dead whose loss we thus deplore.

GEORGE SMITH HOUSTON, though not a native of Alabama, was yet an adopted son, who entered her borders at an age so early, and who passed his active life so entirely in her service, that we may honor ourselves in claiming him as an Alabamian, a claim which he himself would have been proud to indorse, since, like the adopted child of a fortunate and splendid home, he had known from boyhood no other parent, nor had his manly lips learned to call any other commonwealth than this by the endearing name of mother. Having read law in the office of the Hon. George Coalter, of Florence, Alabama, and having completed his legal studies in the school of Judge Boyle, of Harrodsburg, Kentucky, he entered upon the practice of his profession in Florence in 1831. Some men seem born for public trust; and it is a happy feature of our free institutions that they school the popular eye at once to detect the merit of him who is waiting to devote all his energies to the good of the land which nurtures his earliest genius. Senator HOUSTON was one of the men thus marked out by nature. In 1832 he was called to his first public charge as a representative of Lauderdale County in the State legislature. From this date to the period of his death, with but few and brief intervals, he was constantly and honorable associated with those offices of trust to which his fellow-citizens called him without dissent, or to which the popular suffage elevated him with frequent marks of conspicuous approbation. Solicitor twice, and for five years; Representative in Congress for eighteen years, with but a single interval of voluntary retirement for two years; elected

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always with distinguished enthusiasm, and twice without any opposition; twice elected Senator of the United States; during his Congressional career twice chairman of the most important committees connected with the dispatch of public business; twice elected chief magistrate of his adopted State—it would not be easy to find a citizen of the United States whose career of political service has been longer, more continuous, or more overwhelmingly indorsed by the repeated verdicts of popular approval. With the measures that he advocated; with the party views that he espoused; with the many arduous conflicts of opinion through which he passed; with the relations that he sustained to the engrossing public topics of his time; with the attitude in which he stood toward men and measures of State or of Federal policy, we have nothing whatever to do in the memorial service of this hour. But assuredly it may be held for granted that a man so often tried at the bar of public opinion, and so often indorsed by the people who had most at stake in forming a true, just, and righteous judgment; that a man who had been tested in so many and varied offices and employments; that a man who began to reap honors in youth, whose manly brow was crowned with laurels, and whose venerable head lies there wreathed with the garlands of Senatorial renown, it will be granted, I say, that such a man must have possessed no ordinary endowments of mind and of soul. That Senator HOUSTON'S achievements were based upon solid merit must be admitted without hesitancy, or else we rashly impugn the great popular heart and brain on which rests the basis of our free institutions and the hopes of future generations. Nor is it difficult to fix upon some of those characteristics which gave him position and insured him preferment. He was a man of capacious mold. Nature had lodged in him a sound mind in a sound body. His

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intellect was robust, vigorous, and energetic. His address was frank, open, bold, and manly. In argument he wielded a dialectic that was cogent and convincing. In matter solid and substantial; in manner systematic, plain, and practical; in illustration happy and pertinent; in temper cool, self-poised, and equanimous, his aim was rather to convince men's understandings than to fire their imaginations. Rhetorical embellishments he did not affect. With direct aim and keen incisive stroke, he drove home to the heart of things in words full of homely vigor and of sterling good sense. His powers of ridicule and invective were withering and irresistible. In attack bold and aggressive, in defense he was adroit, wary, and skillful. In his store of anecdotes, personal reminiscences, and apposite allusions he possessed a fecundity of resources and readiness in debate which few of his contemporaries could approach. His voice was clear, sonorous, ringing, and penetrative, and his utterances were made with an earnestness of manner and an energy of articulation which left a deep impression upon the hearer. Without the magnetic thrill of fervid oratory, he swept with master hand the whole range of chords to which the popular heart is wont to vibrate. Born of the people, he was emphatically a man of and for the masses. This I mean in no derogatory sense, but in the intent that he knew the thoughts, the aspirations, the wishes, and the views of the people. No man perhaps ever more thoroughly understood his constituency, or devoted his energies more unstintedly to their service. He was jealous for them and for their interests with an exceeding jealousy. In their behoof he threw down the gauntlet, or took up the challenge against all comers in the political arena, and for even his opponents there was a fascination in his mode of dealing with great public issues which generous competitors both felt and acknowl-

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edged. In Senator HOUSTON there was a singular power of swaying the masses. Even the familiar sobriquet which his followers gave him marked their hearty admiration for his eagle-eyed sagacity, his sleepless vigilance, and his daring championship. No popular speaker of the State has ever carried with him more fully in his public efforts the great body of the people. Yet in the arena of higher interests he merged the spirit of local aggrandizement in a sincere desire to do good to and for his whole country. He was of a generation that had learned to enshrine in their inmost hearts the name and the fame of our great and glorious Republic. To you, his neighbors, I leave it to say how he sighed over the dissensions that tore her ensanguined breast, and how he hailed the return of fraternal feeling and good will. Wise in political lore, he was intensely practical in all his views. That he was no visionary is seen in the uniform and unvarying success that marked his onward and upward course with constantly-increasing luster and renown. Honorable, upright, and exemplary in his private life, possessing a financial mind of the highest order; a kind, affable, accessible man; a public-spirited citizen who rejoiced in the prosperity of his community and shared in her deep reverses—these are a few of the traits which marked him for popular favor and for enduring memory.

Into the sacred circle of his domestic relationships it were sacrilegious for a comparative stranger to enter. By the token of his unobtrusive solicitude, home was the paradise of his affections. An honorable gentleman, for fourteen years associated with him in Congress, testifies to the rare devotion which led him, through all that long period, to daily correspondence with the loved inmates of his household. One word of personal allusion I crave indulgence for speaking. I

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was honored in being his guest at the happiest period, I doubt not, of his long and useful career, the very day when, crowned with his fresh Senatorial honors, he returned to the bosom of his home. There in the benignity of his social converse, in the joy that his presence diffused throughout all the ranks of his household, in the thoughtful hospitality and gracious courtesy of his address, in the mingled dignity and genial condescension of his manners, I got some insight into both the secret of his popularity and the permanency of his influence.

And so, leaving to others the full delineation of the character whose salient features I have but touched, I commit to his country the imperishable record of his public services; I yield up to the guardian memory of his friends and neighbors the treasure of his good name. I hand over to the young men of his native State and of mine the rich legacy of his brave, courageous, and successful struggle with life and fortune, and I reverently submit to the bosom of Divine Omnipotence the awards of this long, illustrious, and completely rounded public life.

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